

A
T R E A T I S E
O F
P O L I C Y
A N D
R E L I G I O N.

P A R T . II.

Containing Instructions to a Young Statist.

Written about a 100 Years since
By *Thomas Fitzherbert Esquire.*

The Third Edition newly Revis'd, Divided
into Four Tomes, and the English together
with some accidental Errors Corrected.

*By Me King's Reign, and Law-makers
Ordain things that are just.
Prov. 8. 15.*

L O N D O N ,

Printed by *Thomas Farmer, MDCXC VI.*



JOHN PITCHFORD





Madrid



R. Strickland her
Book given^{me} by the
Deare queene

given by lady Abbess Fermor
Feb: 4th 1749 to her oblig'd
obed^r hum^{ble} ser:t Mary Harvey



TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE
Prince of WALES.

SIR,



AVING the last Year had the Honor of Dedicateding the First Part of this most Excellent Treatise to the King your Father; I Address this Second to your Royal Highness: Nor will the Present, as I hope,
* appear

The Epistle Dedicatory.

appear altogether improper, or unseasonable; even in respect of your Tender Years: Not Improper; because it contains the most necessary Points, by which a Young and Virtuous Prince is to Steer the whole Course of a truly Glorious Life: Nor unseasonable; because your Highness has already quitted the Trifles of Child-hood, and seems to excel others of your own Age in Ripeness of Capacity, as much almost as in Disproportion of Birth.

Daniel when but about Twelve Years Old, knew more than the Wise Men of *Babylon*; the Royal Prophet *David* also, in

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

the Blossom of his Youth, became most Eminent as well for his Knowledge, as Exploits: And that Heaven has not bestow'd so Great a Pledge as your Royal Self upon us, in Vain; may appear by the vast Importance of your long Pray'd for Birth, by the great Consequences of your Strange Preservation, and by a wonderful Increase Daily of the many Graces, both of your Mind and Body; all which seem undoubted Tokens of farther Blessings.

But the more Forward and Precious a Plant is, with so much the greater Care ought it to be Fenc'd and Cultivated:

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Your Highness therefore will still Thrive and Flourish best, by having Good Men and Good Books about you; and amongst the latter I hope this Solid and Pious Treatise of *Policy and Religion*, will not only find a place in your Closet, but it's Excellent Maxims will be ever Fix'd in your Mind.

Religion the Queen of Virtues will be properly the Governess of all your Actions and Motions; nor will you ever admit any *Policy*, but what is introduc'd by justice and Piety. On such Foundations Thrones have their surest Establishment, and Princes become for ever Glorious. So will your Highness continue,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

continue, the Delight of the Loyal, the Comfort of the Faithful, and a Defender of the True Christian Faith: And that you may be a Glorious Protector thereof, is constantly Hop'd and Pray'd for by Thousands as well as

Royal SIR,

Your Highnesses most
Faithful, most Obe-
dient, and most
Humble Servant.

N. N.

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A
T R E A T I S E
O F
Policy and Religion.

P A R T . I I .

C H A P . I .

Certain General Rules or Advices no less Pious than Politic, for the Instruction of such as desire to manage matters of State, and have no experience therein; to the end they may act with less danger and difficulty.

IRST, he that means to apply himself to matters of State, must see that his Intention be good and pure; that is, that he be not mov'd to it by vain Glory, Ambition, Covetousness, or any other vicious or unlawful desire; because the same are too weak Founda-

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tions to sustain such weighty Affairs; being accompany'd not only with the offence of God, but also with Passion, whereby Mans Judgment is blinded, and many times drawn to Error: And therefore the chief and principal Intention of a Statesman, ought to be the Service of God, his Princes, and the Publick good of his Country; whereunto, every Man ought principally to direct and level all his Actions, which otherwise cannot be truly Vertuous and Wise, nor conform to the duty of a good Christian, nor have the Blessing and Assistance of Almighty God, which is most requisite for the good success of all Mens Affairs. For as the Royal Prophet says; *Except our Lord Build the House, they have Labor'd in Vain that Build it.*

This Foundation being layd, any business thô never so weighty and important may for four reasons, be built thereupon. First, because a Mans Reason and Judgment being free from passion and self-love, he shall more clearly and solidly both deliberate and act in all occasions. Secondly, because 'tis most likely that Almighty God seeing his good and pious Intention, will concur and co-operate with him in all his negotiations. Thirdly thô God, by reason of his secret Judgments, should not bless and prosper his Actions, yet he will assuredly give him the reward of his good Intention: And lastly, because in case he shou'd fall into such great difficulties and dangers as are incident to dealing in matters of State,

yet he will have the comfort and consolation of a good and clear Conscience, which as the Poët says, is: (a) *Murus aheneus, a brasen Wall;* and the most assur'd Anchor in all the Storms and Tempests of this Life; *Quæ etiam obruta delicitat* which as *Seneca* says, do's delight even when 'tis oppress'd, or overwhelm'd.

3. Secondly, 'tis convenient for a Young Statist, to weigh very well and foresee the difficulties and dangers which he may probably incur, by dealing in matters of State, either throu' the nature and condition of the matters which he is to handle; or throu' the treachery and perfidiousnes of those with whom he is to deal; or throu' the malice and emulations either publick or private, which are never wanting; or else throu' the jealousie of Princes, who, as *Comines* well notes; (b) easily suspect and mistrust their best Servants, in matters concerning their State; or lastly, throu' the uncertainty of the success of business, which is in no Mans power to warrant, as has been sufficiently prov'd. (c) By all which means we see many times most important matters miscarry, to the great grief, disgrace, and utter overthrow of the managers; especially, when they have not foreseen the same; whereas by consideration and foresight, they might perhaps have prevented the inconveniency, or at least have been better arm'd to bear their misfortune with patience.

(a) *Horat. lib. I. ep. ad Mecenat. lib. 4. de be-nefi. i. cap. 21.* (b) *Phil. Com. cron. Lodovic. lib. I. cap. 26.* (c) *Tom. I. Chap. 13.*

4. Therefore *Plutarch* worthily compares improvident and unadvis'd managers, to one that should fall before he were aware into a Coal Pit or Mine, where thô perhaps he escapes with Life, yet he commonly receives some hurt; or at least is strangely astonish'd and amaz'd, not only with the fall, but also with the obscurity and horror of the place; which, to those that go in of set purpose, and with resolution to endure it, is nothing so noisom or loathsom.

5. Thirdly, he ought always to observe three things, which I have largely prov'd throughout this whole Discourse; the first is, the weakness of Mans Wit; secondly, the uncertainty of the success of all Mens Actions; and thirdly, the Providence of God in the disposition of all Human Affairs. These three things, I say, every Statist should have continually before his Eyes, to the end, that seeing his own infirmity, and the uncertainty of the success of all his designs, he may consider the danger he is in, as well of error in his determinations, as of ill success in his actions; and consequently have recourse to the remedies ordain'd for the same, by the Providence and Mercy of God: According to the advice which old *Tobias* gave to his Son, for the direction of the whole course of his Life, to whom, amongst many other excellent precepts, he gave this. (a) *Ajk Cencel of a Wise-man*, lays he, *and continually bles and praise God, and bisech him to direct all thy curse, and let all thy Counsels be fix'd and settl'd in*

(a) *Tebiæ. cap. 4, 19.*

him.

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him. Thus says the *Holy Ghost* by the Mouth of *Tobias*, advising two things necessary, as to be practis'd by all Men, for the remedy of their natural weakness: First, to take Counsel of Wise-men: Secondly, to beg God's assistance, because we are not so absolute of our selves, but that we need his help in all things, as I have sufficiently prov'd, (a) nor that we are so govern'd and guided by Almighty God, as to contemn the help of Man: Such being the course of his Divine Providence in Human Affairs, that he works his Will not only in Men, but also by them, and with their co-operation; in which respect Saint *Paul* did not stick to call himself, and the other Apostles. (b) *God's Coadjutors*, in the Conversion of the *Gentils*.

6. Therefore as 'twere great folly, pride, and presumption in Man, so to confide in himself, or in Human Wisdom and Power, as to neglect the Providence and Assistance of God, so were it on the other side extream negligence, and even a tempting of God, so to rely upon him, as to contemn all Human help and Counsel: Which we may learn by the example of *Moyses*, (c) who thô Instructed, Inspir'd, and Conducted by Almighty God himself, yet refus'd not the good Counsel of *Jethro* for the manner of his Government, which Almighty God approv'd in him. As also on the other side King *David*, (d) thô

(a) Tom. 1. Chap. 2. (b) 1 Cor. 3. 9.
(c) Exod. cap. 18. (d) 1. Reg. 20. 2. Reg.
19. & 16. 1. Reg. cap. 21, 22, 24.

he took the Counsel of his Friends, Counsellors, and Servants, as of *Jonathas*, *Achitophel*, *Joab* and others, and us'd also his own prudence, as well in the deliberation, as in the execution of his Affairs, yet he never omitted to consult Almighty God, by his Prophets and Priests when he conveniently could do it; and as I have signifi'd elsewhere, (a) crav'd continually the Assistance, Light, and Direction of Almighty God in all his Actions.

7. And this concurrence of Divine help with Human diligence, is notably express'd in Scripture, where 'tis signifi'd that *Gedeon* gave order to his Souldiers to cry in their Conflict with the *Madianits*; (b) *To our Lord God, and to Gedeon, the sword of God, and Gedeon:* And again, in the relation of the great Victory which *Asa* King of *Juda* had against the *Ethiopians* the Scripture says, (c) *They were utterly overthrown, our Lord killing 'em, and the Army of Asa fighting,* which is as much as to say, that Man do's his endeavor, and God giv's the good success. This also the very Pagans knew, and observ'd so well, that *Plutarch* notes (d) it very seriously in the Battel betwixt *Persicus* King of *Macedon*, and *Paulus Aemilius the Roman*. For whereas *Persicus* when he should have fought, withdrew himself from the Field under colour to Sacrifice to *Hercules*, he says, that God do's not use to favor such Idle fellows that so presume of

(a) Tom. I. Chap. 28. n. 23. (b) Judic. cap. 7. 18. 20. (c) 2. Paralip. cap. 14. 33. (d) Plutarch in P. Aemilio.

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is help, as they will do nothing themselves: For God, says he, has so ordain'd, that he who will hit the Mark, must Shoot, and he who will win the Goal must Run, and he who will have the Victory, must Fight; and therefore God favor'd and help'd *Paulus Aemilius*, who crav'd force and Victory with his Arms in his Hands; *A dios rogando, y con la maça dando, Praying to God and Lying on load with Club*, according to the Spanish Proverb.

8. But to say something here particular'y, of a special means to procure the help and assistance of God; nothing behoves a Statist more then daily to recommend his Actions to his Divine Majesty, by fervent and devout Prayer; the force and benefit whereof is unspeakable, no less in all kind of Temporal matters, than in Spiritual; for which we have not only our Saviors Doctrin and Warrant, (a) but also infinite examples of Holy and Wise Men, in both Divine and Prophane Histories. Whilst *Iesse* fought with the *Amalecits*, *Moyses* Pray'd upon the Mountain, and obtain'd the Victory. The two *Anns* being Barren, were by Prayer made Mothers, the (b) one of the Prophet *Samuel*, and the (c) other of the Virgin *Mary*: (d) *Solomon* by Prayer obtain'd Wisdom: (e) King *Ezechias* recover'd health, and had Victories against the *Affyrians*: The three (f) Chil-

(a) Matth. 6. & 7. Marc. 11. 24. Luc. 11. 2.
Ex-d. cap. 17. 18. (b) 1. Reg. cap. 1. (c) S.
Iohn Dam. seu orat. de Nativ. B. Verg. (d) 2. Reg.
cap. 3. 9. (e) 4. Reg. ca. 19. 20. (f) Dan. 3.

dren were deliver'd from Fire: And to speak of latter times, *Theodosius* the Emperor surnam'd the Great, as *Saint Austin* witnesseth; (*a*) prevail'd against *Eugenius* the Tyrant, more by Prayer than by force: The like is also testifi'd by grave Writers, of (*b*) *Nurses* the Eunuch, Lieutenant to *Justin* the Emperor, whose great Victories were attributed to his Prayers, and great Devotion towards the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, who as (*c*) *Eragrius* affirms, appear'd to him many times before his Battels, and gave him Directions for the same.

9. In like manner the famous overthrows, which *Heraclius* the Emperor gave to *Cosroes* King of *Persia*, of whom he recover'd *Jerusalem*, and all the Eastern Parts, are ascrib'd by the best Historians that writ thereof, (*d*) to the great Devotion and Prayers which he partly us'd, and partly procur'd for the good success of that War, wherein divers Miraculous accidents happen'd, which I omit for brevity sake. We read also in our English Histories, (*e*) that King *Ethelred*, Elder Brother to the famous *Alfred*, or *Alured*, Founder of the University of *Oxford*, being encamp'd against the *Danes*, and advertis'd by his Captains at such time as he was going to Mass, that the Enemy assai'd his Camp, bad them attend to the defence there-

(*a*) *Aug. de Civitate Dei lib. 5. cap. 26.*

(*b*) *Procop. de bello Gothic.* (*c*) *Eragrius li. 4*

cap. 23. (*d*) *Paul. Diacono. lib. 18. Cedren. Tho-*

sophan. Naucler. Bar. an. 621. 622. 623. (*e*) *Gul.*

Malmes. de gest. Reg. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 3. Roger de

Hoveden Annal. par. 1. an. 871. Barons an. eodem.

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of, for he must hear Mass before he wou'd go out of his Tent, as he was daily accustom'd to do: In the mean time his Brother *Alfred* with the rest of his Captains, who joyn'd Battel with the Enemy, were in great danger to be overthrown, where King *Etheldred* having heard Mass, came himself in Person, and finding his Souldiers already flying away, he recall'd 'em to the Battel, thrusting himself into the midst thereof, (a) *Cujus virtute, & Dei miraculo; by whose Valour, and the Miraculous help of God,* says the Historian, the *Danes* were put to flight, and their King Slain, with divers of his Nobility, and many thousands of the Souldiers.

10. Also in the Spanish History, we have an admirable example of the wonderful force and effect of Prayer, in a Noble Man of *Castile*, call'd *Hernandes Antolino*, in the time of *Garfias Hernandes* Count of *Castile*, who had great Wars with the *Moors*. (b) This *Antolino* being no less Devout than Valiant, was wont to spend many hours every day in Prayer, and going one day to Pray before a Battel, which the Count of *Castile* was to give to the *Moors*, he was so absorpt, and ravish'd with Devotion, that he forgot himself, and continu'd therein during the whole time of the Battel, wherein nevertheless it pleas'd God to shew visibly, that his Prayers profited, and prevail'd more, than his presence could have done: For one in his shape and Armour, and upon his

(a) *Gul. Malmesb. ubi. supra.* (b) *Voffeo. chron. an. 942.*

Horse, made such Slaughter amongst the Enemies that they were forc'd to fly: Intomuch that the Count, and all the Army being fully persuaded, that they had won the Battel by the means of *Antolino*, sought for him to give him the thanks and praise, which they thought his great Valour deser'd, and thô they found him not in the Field, but in his Tent, much alham'd of his absence, yet assuring themselves that they saw both his Horse, and Armour in the Battel, they caus'd 'em to be produc'd, and then it appear'd as well by the wounds and weariness of the Horse, as by the signs of the blows upon his Armour, that some Angel had us'd 'em in his stead, and that God had giv'n 'em Victory throu' the Merit of his Prayers.

11. To this purpose also may serve those examples, of the famous Victory of *Edward* the III. King of *England*, against the *French* at *Cressy* in *Picardy*; and of the *Christians* against the *Turks* at *Lepanto* in our days; as also of many other Miraculous Victories, whereof I have made ample relation (a) heretofore out of approv'd Authors, and therefore I remit the Reader thèreunto, and end with the sentence of *Saint Chrysostom* concerning Prayer: (b) *The force of Prayer has extinguish'd the force of Fire, shut up the mouth of Lyons, giv'n victories in war, appeas'd storms, and tempests, expell'd Devils, open'd the gates of Heaven, broken the bands of Death, cur'd Diseases, reconcil'd Enemies, deliver'd*

(a) Tom. i, Chap. 15. (b) *Chrysost. de nat. Dei, hom. 5.*

Part. 2. Policy and Religion. II

Citties from Earthquakes, and defended 'em as well from the punishment of God, as from the treasons, and attempts of Men; Finally, it has overcome all sorts of Evil. So powerful is Prayer when 'tis accompany'd with such circumstances as are requisite to make the same acceptable to Almighty God, whereof I omit to speak here, because it properly belongs to those that write expressly of Spiritual matters.

12. Moreover as to what concerns Human Counsel, the Holy Ghost gives a notable advice, saying, (*a*) *My Son do nothing without Counsel, and thou wilt not afterwards repent thee,* and again, (*b*) *Those who do all things with Counsel are govern'd with Wisdom.* And I hold this point to be absolutly necessary, not only for Young Men, or others of small experience, but also for the Eldest and most expert: For *Nemo omnibus horis sapit; No Man is wise at all hours.* And as the Proverb say'd: *Two Eyes see more than one:* And therefore the famous *Scipio Africanus* consulted all his Affairs with *Cajus Lælius*; and *Cicero* confesses that in his Consulship, he did nothing without the advice of the Philosopher *Publius Nigidius*; and therefore Princes have divers Counsellors, that matters being ponder'd by different persons, all circumstances may be duly examin'd and consider'd: For as *Salomon* says: (*c*) *Plots and designs are Confirm'd, where there are many Counsellors;* for some find out one inconveniency, some another; some one re-

(*a*) Eccles. cap. 32. 24. (*b*) Prov. 13. 10.
 (*c*) Prov. 15. 22.

medy, and some another ; whereof I shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

13. Wherefore I conclude for the present, that a young Statist following the Rule and Counsel of *Tobias*, that is to say, fixing his heart and hopes upon Almighty God, adding the continual use of devout and fervent Prayer, to Human Counsel and diligence ; and joyning thereby the *Wisdom of the Serpent, with the Simplicity of the Dove*, (a) Piety with Policy, gifts of Grace with ability of Nature ; and finally, the Wisdom of God with the Prudence of Man, shall deliberate and work in all occasions, no less prosperously then wisely.

14. Fourthly, it imports very much, that after mature consultation of any matter of State, and serious recommendation thereof to Almighty God, the time of Action must not be defer'd by needless delays, when the matter is once determin'd; for time may so alter the State of any affair, be it never so well and wisely resolv'd, that the opportunity of execution may utterly be lost, and the business thereby ; and therefore the Common Proverb advises. *To strike while the Iron is hot*; for as the Poët says: (b) *Nocuit differre paratis : Delay is always hurtful, to those who are ready to execute*; especially in matters wherein there is any competency of Enemies, who ever watch diligently to take all opportunities and do often profit very much, by the negligences and delays of their Adversaries.

(a) Matth. cap. 10. 16.
Evan. lib. 11.

(b) Lu-

15. And

15. And thô this advice is necessary in all matters of State, yet 'tis most requisite in Warlike Affairs; wherein we see many times, that speed and diligence is of greater importance than force; for speed being commonly accompany'd with sudden terror and fear, opens the way to small force, and enables the same, to work great effects: And therefore *Agathocles* one of the Tyrants of *Sicily*, having but a few Souldiers, and exhorting 'em to the speedy and sudden Invasion of *Carthage*, sayd; (*a*) *In repentina metu, non modicum Victoria momentum*; *Sudden fear will be of no small moment and importance for the obtaining of the Victory*; which was prov'd to be true by the Event, and is daily seen by the experience of camislâ's or surprises, and all other sudden enterprises of War.

16. To conclude this advice, one general Rule is to be held, that to delay time is never good, but in three cases. The first, when matters are not maturely consulted, and well digested, wherein nevertheless all due diligence is to be us'd, lest time and opportunity of action be spent, and lost in consultation. The second case is, when there is some just and important impediment in the execution. The third is, in cases of extremity which pass a Mans Power and Wisdom to help; for then the only remedy is to gain time, which produces many accidents that could never be foreseen and imagin'd, and discovers sovereign remedies for the most desperate cases; and therefore

(*a*) *Iustin. lib. 41.*

Pericles was wont to say: (a) *That Time is the wisest Counsellor that is.*

17. Fifthly, let every young Statist consider and measure his own ability, to the end he undertakes not any matter above his reach or capacity; for no Man how excellent soever he be, is so perfect that he excels in all things, and therefore the Poëts fain'd that the Gods themselves had not all gifts alike, but that some excell'd in one, and some in another; and the Apostle says that God differently distributes his Gifts unto Men; (b) *Dividing 'em unto every one as it pleases him;* to the end we may have need one of another. And this also, common experience teaches; for some excel in depth of Judgment, others in Sharpness of Wit, others in Eloquence, others in Memory, others in Science and Learning, and some in one kind, some in another.

18. Now then, 'tis convenient for every one to weigh very well his own Talents, and how they suite with the business in which he is to be employ'd; as if he be to persuade, whether he have the gift of Utterance and Eloquence? If he be to pass Covenants and Agreements, Leagues or Marriages, whether he be a Lawyer? If he be to treat of matters of War, whether he be a Souldier? And so in like cases; for otherwise he will prove, *Afinus ad lyram, an Af's at a Harp,* as the Proverb says, and not only disgrace himself and them that sent him, but also loose his labor and his busines.

cap. 12. II.

(a) *Plutarch in Pericle.*

(b) 1. Cor-

19. They

19. They that err in this point, are those commonly which either have such an inordinate desire to be meddling in great matters, that they care not what they undertake, so they be doing; or else have an extraordinary conceit of their own wit and sufficiency; and therefore as 'twill be good for every one to moderate in himself, the desire of dealing; so also to remedy the latter, 'twill be secure for any Man, in my opinion, not to rely wholly on his own Judgment concerning his sufficiency; but partly upon the Judgment of others; rather receiving the employment from his Prince or other Superiors, than offering or intruding himself into it, till he have made some good trial of himself; for by that means if the business succeed, he shall have the thanks and honor of it, and if it succeed otherwise, he shall avoid great part of the blame.

20. But if he find that his Superiors know him not, so well as he knows himself, and that they would employ him in matters, wherein he has neither experience nor ability; 'twill be less shame for him to confess his defect, and either to refuse the Commission; or else to crave an associate furnish'd with the parts he wants, rather than accept the charge, and fail in its performance; (a) *Moyses* being Commanded, by Almighty God to go in Embassly to *Pharaō* King of *Egypt*, for the delivery of the Children of *Israēl*, humbly excus'd himself as unfit for so weighty a charge, by reason of the impediment in his

(a) *Exod. cap. 3.*

Speech,

Speech, for remedy whereof God gave him an assistant, to wit, his Brother *Aaron*, who being very Eloquent might speak for 'em both. Whereby not only Subjects, who are to be employ'd, may learn to consider and acknowledge their own defects; but also Princes may learn so to employ their Subjects, that one may have the parts that another wants, and supply each one the defects of another.

21. Sixthly, 'twill not be amiss in my opinion for a young beginner, to enter into his first practise with matters of small importance, and to proceed to greater by degrees, as his experience and ability, shall grow and increase: Like to the wise Physician, who when he begins to practise, takes in hand easie Cures, and meddles not with inveterate and dangerous diseases, till he has got both experience and credit: And so I would wish a young beginner to do in these matters, to fly business of great weight and difficulty, and rather to procure at the first, some honorable Commission or Embasly of Congratulation, or Condoling, including some overture of an important Treaty, rather than to deal in the Treaty it self, which requires great practise, experience, and Wisdom.

22. And if he be employ'd in any such Treaty I would wish him to be contented rather to be Second, or Assistant, than chief in Commission, and so to grow for a while like the Vine or Ivy, by the support of another Tree. Or if his dignity be such as cannot admit a second place, to procure as much as may be to have such assistants,

as are not only Men of sound Judgments and Wisdom, but also his sincere friends; such being commonly the emulation and ambition in Courts, that he may otherwise make account that his own associates, will curiously observe every little error, and from thence take the advantage of advancing their own credit.

23. To which purpose 'tis to be consider'd that the *Lacedemonians* us'd to chuse such to send on their Embassies as were either publick, or at least secret Enemies, to the end that one of 'em might serve for a Spy over the others actions; the like still may be, and is no doubt many times us'd. And *Philip Comines* notes (a) of *Lewis the XI.* King of *France*, that he was wont sometimes, when he sent a great Ambassador, to give secret Commissions apart to some meaner Man in his Company, using the other for a shew and for matters of complement, or perhaps to the end he might bear the greatest part of the charges of the Embassy, as commonly great Men do, rather than for the dispatch of important affairs; and the like of both these examples may well be practis'd by Princes when they send great Embassadors; especially when he who is chief in Commission, is raw and unexpert; and therefore 'twill be convenient for such a one to consider the same may happen to himself, to the end he may the better look to his own carriage, and procure to have about him wise and assur'd friends to advise him, lest otherwise his own assistants let him commit some gross errors, and so

(a) *Philip. Comines cron, du R^e Louis, cap. 25:*
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handle the matter, that all the negotiation turn to their honor by the discovery of his weakn̄s.

24. And this he may fear not only in his fellow associates in Commission, but also in his followers and Servants; amongst whom some one of more wit and talents then the rest, may seek to take advantage of his Masters weakness; as it happen'd to an Ambassador whom I knew, whose Secretary noting in him some negligence in the dispatch of advices, when occasion requir'd, prevented commonly his Masters Letters with his own; moreover, being employ'd by his Master to procure advices and intelligences, he conceal'd the most important matters from him, and writ 'em himself to some principal Counsellors, whose favor he gain'd so far, that they procur'd his advancement at his return, whereas the Ambassador was held unworthy of farther preferment, and liv'd ever after in disgrace.

25. Seventhly, I wou'd advise a young beginner not to charge himself with many matters at once, as some do who cannot endure to see any Man employ'd but themselves; whence it follows, that some one, or two businesseſ ſucceeding ill, as commonly among many ſome do, they receive more disgrace, than reputation or thanks for all the rest, thô they ſucceed never ſo well: Wherefore 'tis wiſdom for any Min, especially for ſueh as are Novices in State Affairs, to take in hand but few matters, and to dispatch 'em well; like a Man that has but a weak Stomach, is to take heed, that he neither overcharge it with the quantity, nor yet pester it with variety of Meats,

because

because one will hinder the digestion of the other.

26. This I wish the favorites of Princes wou'd seriously consider, who many times desiring to have all in their own hands, stick not to charge themselves with much more, than they are able to dispatch in due manner and season, to the exceeding great prejudice, as well of particular Men, as of the whole State in general : Whereby they expose not only themselves, but also their Princes to such hatred of the Nobility and People, that there follow many times Commotions and rebellions ; insomuch, that their Princes are either forc'd to abandon 'em to their Enemies, or else to perish with 'em : As to omit forraign examples, we have seen by experience in *England*, in the time of King *Edward* the II. and King *Richard* the II. (a) against whom the Nobility and Commons took up Arms, for the hatred they bore their favorites, *Pierce Gaveston*, the two *Spencers*, *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, and others their Adherents ; upon whose persons they discharg'd their fury, exercising on 'em all kind of Cruelty, except upon the Earl of *Oxford*, who sav'd his Life by flight into *Holland*, and ended his Days in Banishment ; and hereunto, also may partly be ascrib'd, the unfortunate Deaths of both those Kings, who were afterwards Depos'd and Cruelly Murder'd.

27. Eighthly, nothing is more necessary in handling matters of State than secrecy, I mean matters intended or consulted before they come to

(a) Pollid. Virg. in Hist. Ang'.

execution, for they are like a Mine which having any vent, is wholly useleſs, and of no effect; therefore, Peter King of Aragon, being ask'd of Pope Martin the IV. what he meant to do with the great Fleet wherewith afterwards he recover'd Sicily from the French, answer'd, that if he thought his Shirt knew it, he wou'd burn it.

28. But because I am to speak of this Point of secrecy hereafter, (a) I will here give only one general Rule to be held and practis'd of young Statists, which is not to communicate any important matter of State to any Man whatsoever, except he be to be employ'd, or his Counsel to be us'd; and whosoever fail's in this point, is not fit to handle any matter of importance, nor shall ever have credit with Princes, who esteem nothing more in their Servants than secrecy; insomuch, that a Prince in these our days, whom for some respects I forbear to name, caus'd a faithful Servant of his, whom he also lov'd very dearly, to be kill'd, for fear he shou'd reveal a secret which by chance he came to know; whereby we may see how dangerous a thing it is, to be partakers of the secrets of Princes; therefore Philippides the Comedian being will'd by King Lysimachus to ask some favor of him, Beseech'd him to do him what favor he thought fit, so he imparted to him none of his secrets. (b)

29. Ninthly, a young Statist is to have special care to avoid all kind of unlawful employments;

(a) Tom. 2. Cap. 2. nū. 17. (b) Plutarch in his Treatise of taking too much,

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as to be instrument of any wickedness for his Princes Service; for besides the offence to God, who will assuredly punish the same sooner or later, he may well think that his Prince also will never trust him after, howsoever he be satisfid with this his Service for the present; for Princes many times are content to take the benefit of a Service done by evil means, and yet ever after suspect and hate, the malicious nature and disposition of him that did it, whom they use no otherwise then Poyson, only to serve their turn, thô they detest the malignity of it: And therefore *Augustus Cæsar* was wont to say! *I Love the Treason, but I hate the Traiter,* (a) and all wise Princes hold it for a Rule, that where there is no bridle of Conscience and fear of God, there is no fidelity to be expected towards Man.

30. We Read, that *Constantius Cæsar*, Father to the Emperor *Constantin* the great, having commanded that all such Christians as wou'd not Adore his God's, shou'd depart from his Service, Banish'd nevertheless all those who deny'd their Faith, and retain'd the other in his Service and favor; whereof he gave this reason, that those that had so little Conscience as to be false to their God, could not be true to him. And *Henry the V.* King of *England*, presently after his Fathers Death, Banish'd from his Court all such as had been Counsellors, Instruments or Companions of his Riots before; persuading himself, that they

(a) *Plutarch* in his *Apotheg. of Kings and Captives.*

were not to be trusted about his Person ; and so it commonly happens, when Princes are wise and enter into the due consideration of themselves and their Consciences.

31. But such other Princes that give themselves to Vice and Sin, and make no Conscience of any thing, do not only disavow their own Commissions , after some wicked act is committed by their order, but also use to pick quarrels, or take very small occasions to make away the instruments of their own wickedness ; either to rid themselves of the suspicion , and infamy thereof, or for the jealousie they have of the malignant natures of their instruments , or for fear they shou'd discover their practises if they live , or sometimes for other respects ; God so disposing , by his just judgments, to make 'em the executors of his justice upon those, who prefer'd their Service before his.

32. So *Alexander* the Great at his Fathers Oblequies, commanded publick Justice to be done upon those, whom he had himself secretly employ'd to kill him. (a) So did *Tiberius* Emperor disavow his Commission giv'n to a Souldier to kill *Agrippa*, (b) telling him, that he shou'd answer the matter before the Senat ; and also put to death *Seianus* his great favorit, and instrument of much mischief. And in like manner *Cæsar Borgia* delt with a favorit of his ; and *Henry the VIII.* King of *England* with some Counsellors and

(a) *Iustin.* lib. 11.
anaf.

(b) *Tacit.* lib. 1.

Servants of his; (a) so also have some others in these our days, been made away by sundry devices in divers Courts and Countries, when they had serv'd the turn of some great Persons, whom for just respects I forbear to name; which may serve for an advertisement and warning to all Men, to take heed how they suffer themselves to be employ'd by any Man, in unlawful matters and offensive to God: Wherefore *Fælix quem faciunt aliena pericula cum:um*; *He is happy who can take heed by other Mens harms.*

33. My Tenth advice to a young Statist, is, that if his Prince do's him the honor to make him of his Council, he consider well what is the duty of a Counsellor; to which purpose I will set down some Rules, wherein nevertheless I mean not to frame an Idea of an exact Counsellor as *Cicero* did of an Orator, and *Xenophon* of a Prince, and *Castilion* of a Courtier; neither do I take upon me to advise old Counsellors, whose experience must needs surpass mine, but only to give some precautions, to such as have not any great experience or practice in matters of State, and because it requires a larger Discourse than were convenient to prosecute in this Chapter, it shall serve for the Subject of the next.

(a) Sand. lib. 8. de Seism. Ang. Ioan. Stow in Hen. 8. & aliis.

C H A P. II.

Other General Rules for a young Statist, advanc'd by his Prince's favor, to be of his Council; as what he is to consider in himself, in his Prince, and in the matters that are to be Consulted. And first concerning the Counsellor himself.

TH E Points that are principally to be consider'd by a young Counsellor, thô they may be devide'd into many heads, yet may be reduc'd to three; the first concerning himself, the second concerning his Prince, and the third touching the matters to be Consulted; of all which I will say somewhat, with all the perspicuity, and brevity I am able.

2. As for what concerns himself, he is to regard chiefly eight points. The first is, that he procur's by all means not only to have the Reputation of Vertue and Religion, but also to be indeed truly Vertuous and Religious; and this for two reasons: The first to obtain the assistance of God's Grace, which how necessary it is for the illumination of Man's understanding in all matters of Counsel, appears throughout this whole Discourse, especially in the 28th. Chapter (a)

(a) Tom. 2. nro. 3. 4. 5. 7. &c.

where

where I have prov'd that true Wisdom, Prudence and Policy, are the special gifts of Almighty God, and not otherways to be obtain'd, but by the observance of his Commandments.

3. The other cause why it behoves a Counsellor to be truly Religious and Vertuous, is, because such is the force of Vertue, that it gives credit to the posseßors, and makes 'em more easily believ'd, and their Counsel better accepted; therefore we see that all Men of discretion and judgment, demand Counsel rather of those that are reputed Wise and Vertuous, than of wicked Men, who have only the Reputation of Wisdom; for as Saint Ambrose says, (a) *Where wisdom and virtue are united, there good and wholesome Counsel is to be had, and all Men are willing to hear the wise and vertuous Man, as well out of admiration of his wisdom, as for the love of his vertue;* in which respect, he also says, that Men commonly address themselves to those, for Counsel, that are more Vertuous than themselves: *For no Man has reason to think him, who is inferior to himself in virtue and manners, to be his superior in wisdom and counsel.* (b)

4. Moreover, such is the Dignity and Authority of Vertue, that even ill Men bear a respect to it, and stand as 'twere, in awe of those that are good: Whereof we have an example in Herod, who thô he kept Saint John Baptist in Prison, and wou'd not follow his Counsel in the matter of his Divorce, yet out of the Reverence he had to his

(a) *Amb. de Offic. li. 2. cap. 10.* (b) *Amb. ibid.*
Virtue,

Virtue, he consulted many other things with him, and follow'd his advice; and as the Scripture says, (a) *He fear'd him;* and no doubt but Wise and Vertuous Princes, much more esteem and respect the Counsel of Wise Men that are Vertuous, than of others of equal Wit and Judgment that are vicious and wicked; knowing that, as *Solomon* says, (b) *The Counsels of the wicked are fraudulent,* and that he who has no care of his Conscience and Duty towards God, will have less care of his Duty towards Men.

3. The second point is, that he giv's satisfaction to the World of his Wisdom, by the good and wise goverment of his Family; for no Wise Prince can think him a fit Man to Counsel him, or to govern under him, that cannot govern himself, and his own Family; therefore *Basil* the Emperor advis'd his Son, to choose those for his Counsellors who had given proof and experience of their Wisdom, in the good conduct and direction of their own private affairs; whereupon Saint *Ambrose* says, (c) *An Idoneum putabo, qui mihi dat consilium, qui non dat sibi?* Can I think him fit to Counsel me, who cannot Counsel himself? For he that is a Fool in his own busines, can never be Wise in the affairs of other Men. And therefore Saint *Paul* declaring the duty of a Bishop, requires that he be such a one, as governs well his own Family; because says he, (d) *If a Man cannot govern his own House, how shall he*

(a) *Marc. c. 6. 20.* (b) *Prov. c. 12. 5.* (c) *Amb.*
lib. 2. de Offic. cap. 122: (d) *1 Timo. 3. 5.*

shew his diligence in governing the Church of God?

6. The third point is, that in all his Speeches and Conferences with his Prince, he use all sincerity, truth and plainness, without flattery; for thô the common Proverb says, (a) *Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit*; *Flattery gains friends, and truth hatred*; yet as there is nothing more pernicious to Princes than flattery, so consequently, there is nothing more unfit to be us'd by Counsellors; whose office and special care shou'd be, to undeceive their Prince in all things, wherein they are deceiv'd; and to labor therein so much the more, by how much less other Men do it; seeing one of the greatest misfortunes of Princes, is, that all, or most Men flatter and sooth 'em in all things, and few or none deal plainly or sincerely with 'em; in which respect *Seneca* says, (b) *Quid omnia possidentibus deest? Ille qui verum dicat*; *what wants he who has all? One to tell him truth*; which therefore a faithful Counsellor shou'd do; for otherwise the Prince wou'd live in continual error and ignorance of his own State, and especially of his own imperfections, and in great danger of ruin; for as *Curtius* says very well, (c) *The States of Princes are oftener overthrown by flattery, than by force.*

7. Nevertheless, if the Counsellor has occasion to admonish his Prince of any error or fault of his, he ought to do it with great discretion and

(a) *Terent. in Andr.* (b) *Seneca de beneficijs lib. 6. c. 30.* (c) *Quint. Cart. lib. 8.*
moderation,

moderation, using, as Mandane Mother to Cyrus was wont to say, (a) words of Silk, and Launcing the Sore like a good Surgeon, with such dexterity that he may cure without hurting, neither exasperating his Prince, nor making him thereby less capable of his good Counsel; those that offend in this kind are commonly such as presume too much on their own wits, and power, or of their Princes weakness, or his over great favor and familiarity, or the need he has of 'em; or else perhaps are of a severe, insolent, or passionate nature; for such sometimes forget themselves, and take a Pride in contradicting or admonishing their Princes with less duty and respect than 'tis convenient for 'em to do.

8. Such a one was Calisthenes, of whom Aranius writes, (b) that he made himself odious to Alexander the great; *Tum ob intempeſtiu.m libertatem, tum ob ſuperbam ſtultiu.m*; Both for his unſenſible liberty of Speech, and also for his proud folly. Such a one also was a Philofopher that liv'd in the Court of Dionysius the Elder, Tyrant of Sicily; (c) for the Tyrant being delighted with his own Poems, was us'd to impart 'em publickly, to certain Philosophers who liv'd in his Court, to have their opinions; amongst which there was one, who cou'd not flatter, nor endure the vanity of the Tyrants humor, but told him plainly, that his Verses were nothing worth, and that 'twas a shame to hear 'em; upon which the Tyrant was

(a) Plutarch, in his Treatise of flattery.
 (b) Arran. li. 8. de rebus Alex. (c) Pantareb.
 so

so offended, that he commanded his Guard to take him presently away, and carry him to the Mines, to work amongst condemn'd persons: Afterwards, the same Philosopher being releas'd, and return'd to the Court at the request of his friends, it chanc'd, that the Tyrant caus'd a certain Poem of his own to be Read in the presence of him, and of all the other Philosophers, commanding 'em to speak their opinions of it; all the rest extoll'd the work to the Skies, some praising the invention, and others the vein and grace of the Verse, every one striving who shou'd commend 'em most, until it came to the turn of this Philosopher; who instead of giving his Censure, call'd suddenly the Guards of the Tyrant, saying, *Come my Masters, carry me away to the Mines, for I cannot endure this extream folly;* and the Tyrant, as it happen'd, being in a good humor took it not ill, but was content to turn it to a Jest, which he laugh'd heartily at.

9. But this Philosopher, seeking to avoid *Silla*, fell into *Charibdis*; for by flying base flattery, he fell into another extremity, of impudent insolency, which is no less unfit and absurd for Counsellors; who are to imitate the discreet and prudent modesty of *Hephæstion* Counsellor to *Alexander* the great; for thô he always admonish'd *Alexander* discreetly and freely as occasion serv'd, yet he ever did it in such a manner, as that it seem'd rather to be *Alexander's* will and pleasure he shou'd do so, than that he challeng'd any such right to himself. (a) The like still ought a

(a) *Q. Curtius de reb. gestis Alexand.*

Coun-

Counsellor to use in contradicting or admonishing his Prince, observing exactly his disposition and humor; because no Man is always alike dispos'd to receive contradiction, or to hear of his faults, especially in the presence of others; wherefore fit time and place is always to be chosen for that purpose, and some plausible preamble to be us'd of the Princes praises for some of his good parts, which in such a case is no flattery; but a spur to virtue, and may serve for a preparative to the Pill of admonition he means to give him; which he must give in so good terms, and with such dutiful respect, that the Prince may perceive it proceeds not from passion, or a Spirit of contradiction, audacious insolency, or contempt, all which are most odious to Princes, but from an entire love and affection towards him; for so he will, if prudent, take the admonition in good part, and say with *Solomon*, (a) that *a wound from a friend, is better than the kiss of an Enemy.*

10. To conclude, a Counsellor may keep this Rule, to speak always thus freely to the Prince himself, thô it be of his errors; but never to others of him; but in his honor and commendation, and thô the Prince be never a whit the better for his admonition, yet 'tis sufficient he has done his duty, and thereby freed himself from being partaker of his Princes faults, as otherwise he wou'd be, if he shou'd not in all dutiful manner advise and admonish him, as occasion requires: And therefore thô he shou'd fear to incur his

(a) *Prov. cap. 27. ver. 6.*

displeasure

displeasure for his plainness, yet he ought to discharge his Conscience, and to say as *Themistocles* sayd to *Eurybides*, (a) (who took up a Staff to strike him for his freedom of Speech) *Strike me, so you but hear me afterwards.* Finally, a Counsellor shou'd not expect that his Prince shou'd always follow his advice, nor much afflict himself if he do's not: For thô Princes give their Counsellors great liberty to say what they will, yet they reserve a greater to themselves, to do what they please.

11. The fourth point, that a Counsellor is to consider in himself, is, that it behoves him, to be grave and constant in his opinions; for levity and inconstancy is a most evident sign of folly. And to this end 'twill be necessary for him to deliberate maturely, and consider fully the matter propounded, before he giv's his opinion; for as *Seneca* says, (b) *Sunt duo contraria consilio, festinatio & ira;* Two things are contrary to Counsel, hasty, and anger; and again, *Deliberandum est diu quod statuendum est semel;* The thing that is once to be determin'd, is to be deliberated at leisure; and to the same purpose *Aristotle* says, (c) *That a wise Man ought to Counsel slowly, and to execute quickly.*

12. Wherefore he excludes very young Men from Counsel in matters of State, because their natural heat, says he, makes 'em over hasty in giving their opinions, and by reason of their want of experience, many reasons, or difficulties occur not to them to be consider'd, in which

(a) *Plu. in Themisto.* (b) *Seneca in proverbiis.*
Ibid. (c) *Arist. 6. Ethic.*

respect they resolve easily, hastily, and with less judgment; whereas Ancient Men both by reason of their cooler temper, and also of their greater experience, which gives 'em more matter of Discourse, and more doubts to be resolv'd, determin slowly and with far more judgment; so that hasty resolutions, are arguments of weakness of wit, or want of judgment, and therefore to be avoided by Counsellors.

13. The fifth point, is to fly obstinacy and wilfulness, the other extremity, opposite to levity, which is no less unfit for a wise Counsellor, than the other; for obstinacy is always accompany'd with contention and contempt of other Mens opinions; and therefore is an Enemy to resolution, which can never be taken where obstinate and contentious Men meet in a Council. This defect proceeds commonly either from pride and presumption of a Man's own wit, whereof I have spoken sufficiently in the beginning of this Discourse, (a) or from a false conceit that many Men have, that 'tis a shame for a wise Man to change his opinion, which is far otherwise: For thô a wise Man ought not to do it lightly, and without great reason, yet when there is sufficient cause, 'twere great shame and folly not to do it; and therefore Seneca the Stoick, who according to the opinion of those of his Sect, held, that *A wise Man never changes his opinion,* (b) expounds it in such a manner, that he includes in the opinion of a

(a) Tom. 1. Chap. 1. num. 3. 4. & 5. &c.

(b) Seneca lib. 4. de benef. cap. 34.

wise Man a necessary exception, which is, if nothing happens that may alter the case, and therefore he also says, that '*Tis the property of fools to assure themselves too much of the event of their Counsels, and determinations; and that a wise Man know's what sway error bears in the affairs of Men; how uncertain all human things are; and how many accidents hinder good and wise designs;*' (a) whereupon he concludes, that 'tis no shame for wise Men to alter their opinions when occasion requires. Plato compares a wise Man to a good Gambler, who accommodates his Play to the Chances of the Dice; and so says he (b) shou'd a wise Man his Counsels and course of Life to the occasions; which changing and varying with the time, do often require new deliberations.

14. Nevertheless, 'tis to be consider'd, that this change according to occasions, is convenient only when the occasions change the fundamental and chief reason of the first resolution; for in all matters of Counsel many reasons may concur to one end, wherof some may be more important than others, and some one perhaps the ground and foundation of the rest; otherwise it falls out, that change of times and variety of occasions, alter some considerations, and circumstances, and not the grounds and fundamental reasons of the matter; in which case the resolution is not to be chang'd; for otherways Men wou'd be like weather-cocks, which change with every wind; seeing time produces always some new difficulties, and

(a) *Ibid.* (b) *Plat. de Rep. lib. 10.*

changes some part of the reasons, in all matters that require any long time for the execution; whereupon some alteration of circumstances in the design may follow, thô the resolution may stand good as to the principal end.

15. Wherefore twere great levity and rashness in any Man; to condemn other Mens Counsels, because some of the Motives that induc'd 'em thereunto have fail'd; or because the success has not in the beginning answer'd their expectations; as may appear by the example of the wise *Phocion* of *Athens*, who having dissuaded the *Athenians* from a certain enterprise which succeeded well, being reproach'd therewith by some of his adversaries, sayd, *That he was very glad of the good success, but did not repent him of his opinion;* (a) and this he sayd, partly because he foresaw a bad sequel of their good beginning, as after it fell out; and partly because a wise Man discharges his duty, if his Counsel be well grounded upon good and sound reason, thô the success be not so good as he expected; seeing the event of all Mens Counsels is only in the hands of God, and cannot be assuredly foreseen, and much less warranted, by the Wisdom of any Man; as I have sufficiently declar'd elsewhere. (b)

16. To conclude this point, a wise Man ought always so to ground his Opinions and Counsels upon Reason, Conscience, and Justice, that whatsoever the success be, he may have no just cause

(a) *Plut.* in *Timoleon* & in *Phocion*. (b) Tom. II.
Chap. II. 22. & 23.

to repent or retract the same ; and therefore *Aristides* having sayd to *Dionysius* the Tyrant, who demanded one of his Daughters in Marriage, (*a*) That he had rather see her burn'd, than Marry'd to a Tyrant, woud never retract or recall his words, thô it cost him the Life of his Son; for when the Tyrant had Slain his Son, and ask'd him whether he was still of the same mind, concerning the Marriage of his Daughter, he answer'd, that thô he was sorry for what had happen'd to his Son, yet he repented not of what he had sayd; which constancy of *Aristides*, *Plutarch* greatly commends, as proceeding, says he, from an extraordinary and compleat virtue.

17. The sixth point necessary in a Counsellor, is secrecy, whereof I have sayd somewhat before, and here add, that Counsellors must understand that their Mouths are Seal'd up by their Princes, as *Hephæstion's* Mouth was by *Alexander* the great, (*b*) who having shew'd him a secret Letter, sayd nothing to him, but took off his Sealing Ring and put it to his Lips; this a young Counsellor must understand to pass betwixt his Prince and him, when his Prince do's him the honor to make him of his Council, or to treat with him of matters of State, whereof secrecy, is as *Valerius* says, (*c*) *Optimum & turissimum vinculum*; The best and surest bond. And therefore 'twas so much esteem'd amongst the *Persians*, that they honor'd Silence for a God; and such was the care and respect that

(*a*) *Plut.* in *Timoleon*. (*b*) *Plut.* in *Alexandro*.

(*c*) *Valer.* lib. 2. cap. 2.

the Romans had thereunto, that when King Eumenes came into the Senat to demand assistance against King Perseus, 'twas never understood, as *Livy* witnesseth, (a) either what he sayd, or what any answer'd, until the War which the Romans made at his request was ended; such being the secrecy of the Roman Senators, thô very many in number, that as *Valerius* says, it seem'd that; (b) Not so much as one Man heard, that which was committed to the Ears of so many.

18. Nevertheless, great discretion is to be us'd herein; for a Man may as well be over secret in some cases, as too open. I have noted sometimes that some great Princes and Counsellors for fear of discovering their designs, have either forborn to take sufficient information and instruction, of such as cou'd best inform 'em, and might have been trusted, whereby they have gone blindly to work; or else they have sought to inform themselves in cloud's, by such dark and obscure questions, that they have been falsly, and ill inform'd; for the parties with whom they confer'd making a false conjecture of their drift, and answering 'em according to their own sense, far otherwise than they wou'd have done, if they had known their meaning, have abus'd 'em against their wills.

19. Again, some there are, who intending to be very secret, play as a Man may say, at cross questions. I knew a Counsellor, who being

(a) *Aminian. Marcellin. lib. 21. Livius lib. 42.*
 (b) *Valer. lib. 22 cap. 2.*

commanded

commanded by his Prince to give him his opinion in a matter of exceeding great importance and secrecy, thought to inform himself of some circumstances so cunningly, that his meaning shou'd not be so much as gues'd at: But the party with whom he treated being of an excellent Judgment, presently understood it, and thô he answ'rd him to his great satisfaction, yet not thinking himself any way bound to secrecy, because he had neither giv'n his Oath, nor his Word to the Counsellor, who shew'd no confidence in him about the matter, he wrote it to a great person, with whom he had correspondence, by which means it was within a Month after so publick, that it came into the *Roman Gazet*, and from thence was publish'd throu' Christendom, as the Counsellor himself has since told me; so that in seeking information by Ridles and obscure Questions, two inconveniences are to be fear'd; the one, lest you receive a false information; the other, lest you discover the design against your will.

20. Therefore to prevent these inconveniences, my opinion is, that when one must needs take Counsel, as in some cases 'tis absolutly necessary, especially for enterprises to be made in forraign and unknown Countries, 'twill be convenient, if a sufficient informer be found of good and sincere Conscience, to deal plainly with him, and to shew confidence in him; taking nevertheless his Oath of secrecy, to bind him the more; and to use other means of courtesie and benefits to oblige him; and to do this with the liking and leave of the Prince; for the Counsellors

better security; but when such a confident and sincere informer cannot be had, I think, that thô 'twill be good to use all possible means and diligence to learn what is possible, without discovery of his intention; yet nevertheless no great foundation is to be made of an information, taken by such means; except it be of a matter of fact, wherein no Man that knows truth, can falsly inform, except he will wilfully lie; but of matters of discourse, depending upon the judgment of the informer, be he never so wise, small reckoning is to be made, when he do's not fully understand the drift and intention of the proposer.

21. The seventh point, which a Counsellor shou'd consider in himself, is, that in the deliberation of all matters whatsoever, he be clear and free from all passion, and particular affection; that is, from all respects, either of love, hatred, or envy to any one; because wise Princes are wont exactly to observe the humors and dispositions of their Counsellors, and to make small account of the advice or persons of such, as they find to be subject to any of the aforesaid imperfections; and with great reason; for as *Salust* says, (a) *The mind do's not easily see the truth, when passion and affection bears the sway.* Moreover, passion not only blinds the understanding of Man, but also so corrupts his will, that thô he sees the truth, yet he will not embrace it; which *Justin* observ'd very well in King *Antiochus* and his Counsellors; for when *Hanibal* had Counseled him, to

(a) *Salust, in Catilin.*

invade

invade Italy, his Counsel, says *Justin*, (a) was rejected; partly because the chief Counsellors, and favorits of *Antiochus*, fear'd that if 'twere admitted, *Hanibal* might grow in more credit and favor with *Antiochus* than they; and partly because *Antiochus* himself, doubted, lest his own glory might be in some part obscur'd, if he shou'd be thought to do any thing by *Hanibals* advice; so pestilent is the passion of envy and emulation, that it makes a Man sometimes Enemy of his own private, no less, than of the publick good.

22. Wherefore *Aristides* of *Athens*, (b) being sent Embassador with *Themistocles*, his Enemy, will'd him, at their departure out of the Town, that they might leave all their emulations and quarrels behind 'em at the Gate, lest their private passions might hinder the publick good of the Common-wealth. In like manner all Counsellors, that have any particular quarrels, or disgusts amongst themselves, ought to leave 'em at the Council-chamber-door, when they enter in. The like may also be sayd of the respects of private friendship, or of other Mens greatness and favor with the Prince; which respects are many times no less hurtful in Councils, than envy or hatred; for that they make Men conceal their own judgments, because they will not disgust some friend, or some great Man, that holds a contrary opinion; insomuch, that it falls out many times, that some favorit of the Prince, having once

(a) *Iust. hist. lib. 3o.* (b) *Plutarch* in his *Apotheg. of Kings and Princes.*

utter'd his conceit, thô none of the wisest; carries after him all the rest without contradiction; and so the best opinions are either conceal'd, or not so well debated, as were convenient.

23. For the prevention and remedy of this inconvenience, the wise *Cosmo de Medices* Duke of *Florence*, and *Philip the II.* King of *Spain*, us'd to propose their most important matters, to their Counsellors, first by writing, commanding 'em to set down their opinions, with their reasons; and not to communicate the same with any other; and afterwards if they thought it needful, they assembl'd 'em in their presence, to hear 'em debate and defend their own opinions; which proceeding was very prud'ent; for so, every Counsellor gave his opinion freely without passion or respect to any other; and for his own honor and reputation defended it so far, as reason wou'd permit; whereby matters were throughly debated and well discuss'd.

24. To conclude this point, Counsellors must say of all particular respects, as *Popilius the Roman*, being sent Embassador to King *Antiochus* his old friend, sayd unto him of their former friendship; (*a*) *Farewel private friendship, when publick matters are in hand;* this Counsellors, when they come to the Council Table, shou'd both say and practise; laying aside all private and particular respects either to one another, or to themselves; as having nothing else before their Eyes in all their deliberations, but the publick good; the

(*a*) *Iustin.* lib. 34.

service of God, their Prince, and their Country.

25. The eighth and last point, which I wou'd wish a young Counsellor to consider, concerning himself, is the danger both of Human and Divine punishment, which he will incur, if he corrupts or seduces his Prince by ill Counsel, because his Prince, if he has Grace to see his own error, cannot but hate and detest the Author and Counsellor thereof; as did King *Henry the V.* (a) who repenting the Riotous course of his youth, banish'd from his Court all those who had misled and seduc'd him, as I have noted before. (b) But thô he shou'd escape the disgrace or punishment of his Prince, yet he may justly fear the hatred of the People, and his own ensuing destruction; as I have before signifi'd upon another occasion, (c) in *Pierce Gaveston*, the *Spencers*, and other Counsellors of *Edward the II.* and *Richard the II.* to whom I may add *Emson* and *Dudly*, put to Death by King *Henry the VIII.* in the beginning of his Reign, to satisfie the importunity of the People; who demanded Justice against 'em, for the bad Counsel they had giv'n to King *Henry the VII.* in matters of exactions, impositions, and pecuniary penalties.

26. And *Plutarch* also notes, (d) that the Counsellors and favorites of *Apollodorus*, *Phalaris*, *Dionysius*, *Nero*, and other Tyrants, were rack'd,

(a) *Pold. Virg. & lo. Sto. in Henr.* (b) *Tom. 2. Chap. 1. num. 23.* (c) *Ibid num. 24. Stow in Hen. 8.* (d) *Plutarch* in his Treatise, that Philosophers shou'd converse with Princes.

flead, burnt, and otherwise most cruelly torment-ed by the People; And justly, says he, because he who corrupts, or seduces a Prince, deserves no less to be abhorrd of all Men, than one that shou'd poyson a publick Fountain, whereof all Men must drink; seeing, that upon the Princes Example and Authority, depends the good or bad State of all his Subjects; and therefore he who misleads the Prince, do's a very great injury to the Common-wealth, and owes his penalty, no les to the People, than to the Prince himself. In which respect, Plutarch also notes, (a) That the People after Nero's Death, made continual instance for the punishment of Tigellinus, his wicked Counsellor and corrupter; as for a publick debt due to the Common-wealth, which at length they obtain'd of Otho, Successor to Galba.

27. But thô neither the Prince nor the People exact this debt of a wicked Counsellor, yet he shall be sure to pay it Eternally to Almighty God, if he repent not, and satisfie his Justice other-wise. For if Not only those who do ill, are worthy of Death, as the Apostle lays, but also those, who consent thereunto; (b) much more guilty are Counsellors of evil, who are either the principal Au-thors, if they invent it; or arbiters and associates in the highest degree, if they approve and con-firm it; therefore, how hateful such are to Al-mighty God, it appears by the examples of Achitophel and Aman, the one Counsellor to Absalon, (c) and the other to Assuerus, (d) whole wicked Coun-

(a) Plut. in Otho: (b) Rom. cap. 1. Ver. 32
 (c) 2 Reg. cap. 17. Ver. 23. (d) Esther cap. 7. Ver. 10.
 tells

sels God did not only, *frustrate and infatuate*, as the Scripture says, but also punish most exemplarily in this Life; making the one of 'em his instrument to execute Justice upon himself, and turning the wicked Counsel of the other to his own destruction.

28. The like may be observ'd in some Counsellors of King Henry the VIII. as in Cardinal *Wolsey*, who upon a disgust, which he had taken against *Charles* the Emperor, Counsell'd the King to repudiate his lawful Wife *Queen Catherin*, Aunt to the said Emperor; and to Treat a Marriage with the Dutches of *Alençon*, Sister to *Francis* King of *France*. But King *Henry* being then fall'n in Love with the Lady *Ann Bullen*, took hold of the Cardinal's Counsel, for the Divorce of Queen *Catherin*, but not for the Match with the French King's Sister; and thô the Cardinal promis'd the King to do his endeavour to procure, that Pope *Clement* the VII. shou'd approve, and ratifie the Divorce; nevertheless, being made Legat together with Cardinal *Campegius* for the hearing, and determination of the cause, and not able to procure the Popes consent to the Divorce, in respect of the evident injustice, he fell so deeply into the Kings disgrace, that he was first depriv'd by a *Premunire*, not only of the Office of Lord Chancellor, and all his Temporal Authority; but of all his Moveable Goods, and Possessions, which were of incredible value, and within a while after, was apprehended as a Traitor, and going Prisoner towards *London*, dy'd for sorrow by the way, he himself acknowledging God's Justice.

29. To which purpose *Stow* relates in his *Cronicle*, that the Cardinal lying upon his Death Bed, ready to give up the Ghost, sayd to Mr. *Kingston*, Constable of the Tower, who was sent with some of the Kings Guards to convey him to London, (a) If I had, sayd he, serv'd God, as diligently, as I have serv'd the King, he wrou'd not have left me in my old Age, but this is the just reward that I must receive, for the diligent pains and study, that I have had to do him service, not regarding my service to God, but only to satisfie his pleasure; so he requested Mr. *Kingston* to beseech the King in his behalf, to call to mind, all that had pass'd betwixt them two, in his weighty matter, meaning that of his Divorce, and giving to understand, that he had therein especially neglected his duty to God, for the satisfaction of the Kings pleasure, and therefore the same had justly turn'd to his overthrow; nevertheless, it seems he dy'd very Penitent, for as *Stow* reports, he was found after his Death to have a Hair Shirt next his Body, whereby it appears, that he might well say with the Royal Prophet, (b) 'Tis well for me O Lord, that thou hast humbl'd me, and that Almighty God of his Infinite Mercy punish'd him here Temporally to save his Soul Eternally.

30. To him I will add another Counsellor of King *Henry*, I mean the Lord *Cromwel*, who Govern'd the whole Kingdom for some time, not only in Temporal, but also in Spiritual Affairs;

(a) *Stow* an. 22. reg. *Henr. 8.* in fine 6^o an. Dom. 1530. (b) *Psal. 118.* Ver. 7.

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having the Title, and Authority of the Kings Vicar General for Ecclesiastical, and Spiritual causes; insomuch, that he had absolute command over Bishops, Arch-bishops, and the whole Clergy; and Sate as President in their Convocations, and Assemblies, and made Ecclesiastical Decrees, and Injunctions, being nevertheless a meer Lay-man.

31. This Lord *Cromwel*, being desirous to make a particular demonstration of his Loyalty towards the King, and the great care he had of his Person, and Service; caus'd a most unjust Statute to be enacted, which was, that if any Man were accus'd of Treason against the Kings Person, he might be condemn'd in absence, without, ever being admitted to answer for himself; but shortly after it pleas'd Almighty God so to dispose, that he himself was the first, and the only Man upon whom the same Statute was executed, even then when he thought himself most secure, and assur'd of the Kings favor; for being made Lord High Chamberlain of *England*, and Earl of *Essex*, he was apprehended within three Months after, as he sate in Council, and condemn'd by Act of Parliament, not only of High Treason, but of Heresie also; and presently after Beheaded without any farther Tryal, by vertue of the Statute which he himself had procur'd to be made; so that we may truly say of him with the Psalmist, (*a*) *Sorrow was turn'd upon his own head, and his iniquity fell upon his own Crown.*

Domi.
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(a) Psal. 7. ver. 17.

32. Moreover,

32. Moreover, it may seem worthy of consideration, that he having been the chief Counsellor, and principal instrument of King *Henry*, as well in the suppression of Religious Houses, as for the Death, and Destruction of many Religious Men; it pleas'd God so to ordain, that he was condemned, and executed for matter of Religion, that is, for Heresie, even during the time of his Vicariat, or Substitution to the King in Religious and Ecclesiastical causes.

33. It may also be observ'd for some part of God's just Judgment upon him, that whereas he had caus'd the King secretly to make a League with the Protestants of *Germany*, in prejudice of his Ancient League with the House of *Burgundy*, lately before renew'd, and confirm'd betwixt him, and the Emperor *Charles the V.* it so fell out, that the same was also one special cause that concurr'd to his destruction; for when the Emperor understood of the said Confederacy, and greatly expostulated with the King for the breach of his former League, and Amity with him; the King seeing at the same time that *Francis the French King* had suffer'd the Emperor to pass quietly throu' *France* to *Flanders*, for the pacification of the troubles a little before rais'd there, whereof I have spoken heretofore, (a) and that the faid troubles were suddenly appeas'd, and that all the Emperors affairs, as well in *Germany*, as elsewhere, had more prosperous success then was expected; King *Henry* noting this, and fearing the event of his secret,

(a) Tom. 1. cap. 4. num. 1. 2. 3. & 4

and new League, with the Emperors Enemies, lay'd all the fault upon the Lord *Cromwel*, by whom he sayd that League was made, without his Commission, or knowledge; at such time as the said Lord *Cromwel* was his Embassador in *Germany*; and to the end, that the Emperor might the rather be persuaded of the truth thereof, he caus'd the Lord *Cromwel* to be suddenly put to Death in such a manner, as I before declar'd; so that we may see how true it is which the Greek Poët says, ἡδὲ χακὴ βγλὴ τῷ βγλεύσαντι χακίσῃ. *Bad Counsel is worst of all to the Counsellor*, which I pray God all Counsellors of Princes may well and duely consider.

C H A P. III.

What a Counsellor ought to consider in his Prince, are his Conscience, his Commodity, and his Reputation.

A Counsellor is to consider in his Prince principally three things; his Conscience, his Commodity, and his Reputation; of which three, I place Commodity in the midst, because 'tis to be ballanc'd and weigh'd with beth the other, seeing nothing can be truly commodious which is not agreeable to both; and no Temporal commodity can recompence the loss of either of 'em. And first to speak of Conscience; the word Conscience, is differently understood,

derstood, and commonly taken for an act, consisting in the application of our knowledge to our action, for that *Conscientia est Scientia, cum alio; Conscience is Knowledge, with an other thing.* (a) In which sense, Conscience may err, when we err in knowledge, or apply our true knowledge erroneously to our actions; wherefore I will not treat of Conscience here in this sense, but only as it is the (b) first natural habit in the Soul of Man; which never errs, and so *Conscience is the purest, and highest part of reason, whereby we naturally discern betwixt good and evil, rejecting the evil and approving the good;* whereupon grows remorse and repentance in our Souls after an evil act, and contentment after a good: In which respect *Origen* says, (c) that Conscience is; *The Governor and Teacher of the Soul, whereby 'tis diverted from evil, mov'd to good, admonish'd, reprov'd, and chas'tis'd.* Saint *Basil*, as Saint *Thomas* notes, (d) call'd it *Naturale judicatorium; The natural faculty of Judgment;* whereof Saint *Austin* speaks, when he says, (e) that there are in the Soul of Man, *Certain infallible Rules, true and incommutable lights of virtue;* whereby every one conceives and judges truly of the general principles of the office and duty of Man. Saint *Chrysostom* speaking of Conscience, says, (f) that Almighty God has plac'd it in the Soul of Man, as a Judge which is ever vigilant,

(a) *D. Tho. 2. d. 24. q. 2. ar. 4. c.* (b) *Idem 2. p. q. 79. ar. 1; in cor.* (c) *Origen. lib. 2. in ep. ad Rom. c. 2.* (d) *S. Basil. apud D. Tho. 1. p. q. 79. ar. 11. ca.* (e) *Arg. lib. 2. de libero. arbit. 10.* (f) *Chrysost. To. 2. concio. 4. de Lazaro.*

and attentive to his actions ; not to be corrupted, inexorable, inflexible, and searching into his very thoughts and intentions ; whereupon it follows, that after any sin or offence committed, a Mans own Conscience justly judges and condemns him, without any other accuser or witness than himself. Lastly, Saint Thomas calls it, (a) *Lex naturalis*; *A natural Law*, or the Law of Nature; by the light whereof the very Pagans know those things which are commanded by the Law of God, as the Apostle testifies, saying, (b) *The Gentils who have not the Law*, that is, the Written Law of God, *do naturally perform those things which are of the Law*; *and not having the Law, are a Law to themselves*, and shew that they have the work of the Law written in their hearts; their own Consciences giving testimony unto them, and their secret thoughts accusing or defending 'em in the Day of Judgment; Whereby it appears, that those who live according to the Rule of Reason, the Law of Nature, and the Law of God, which always conform one to another, act according to Conscience; and on the other side, those who decline and swerve from any of 'em, act against Conscience.

2. Now then, for as much as our Eternal happiness depends upon the integrity and purity of Conscience, in which respect our Savior says, (c) *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God*. It follows, that nothing can be truly profitable which is contrary to Conscience; for what-

(a) *D. Tho. quod. lib. 3. ar. 6. 1.* (b) *Rom. 2. ver. 14. 15. 16.* (c) *Matt. 5. 8.*

soever hinders our greatest good, which is our Salvation, draws us also into the greatest misery that can be, which is Eternal Damnation, and therefore cannot be good and profitable, but most pernicious; for as our Savior says, *What do's it profit a Man to gain the whole world if he loose his Soul?* And therefore Saint Austin says very well, (a) that he who Counsels a Man contrary to his Salvation, has *Pallium consulentis & venenum perimentis; The Cloak of a Counsellor, and the Poyson of a Murderer.* Whereupon it follows, that the first and chief thing that every Counsellor ought to regard, is, that his Counsel be so grounded upon Conscience, that God be not offended, nor his Princes Conscience wounded thereby; which latter were of it self no small misery, thô God shou'd not otherwise punish the evil fact; for as on the one side, *There can be no greater happiness in the Life of Man, than tranquility and quietness of Conscience,* as Saint Austin says, (b) so on the other side, there can be no greater misery or torment, then *Nocte, dieq[ue] suum gestare in pectore testem. To carry day and night the testimony of a Man's wickedness in his own breast.*

3. And thô Princes do not always at the first feel the prick of Conscience, whilst the pleasure, or commodity of wicked Counsel is yet fresh; nevertheless, afterwards they are stung and vex'd with it, at one time or other; such being the nature of the Worm of Conscience, that thô

(a) Aug. in Plat. 119.
Dei, lib. 21. Inversit.

(b) Aug. de Civit. in
(c)

some-

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sometimes it seems to sleep, yet at other times it gnaws and bites bitterly; God having of his infinite Wisdom and Mercy so ordain'd, as Saint Chrysostom witnesseth; (a) *Lest if 'twere continual, it wou'd not be supportable, and if it were not frequent, it wou'd quickly be forgotten or contemn'd:* But howsoever it may seem to sleep in prosperity, it never fail's to prick and sting in adversity; giving testimony to wicked Men of God's just Judgment upon 'em; for as Saint Gregory says, (b) *Culpa claudit oculos, & paena aperit;* *Offence, or sin shuts the Eyes, and punishment opens 'em.* To which purpose Job sisy of the wicked Man; (c) *When God shall punish him, according to his deserts, then he will know, that he has sinn'd.* The Children of Jacob being taken for Spies and detain'd in Egypt, felt presently a remorse, for their sin of selling their Brother Joseph, saying, (d) *We suffer this worthily.* The wicked King Antiochus, having receiv'd great overthrows in Persia, and Judea, and being also tormented with a horrible, and mortal disease: (e) *I now remember, says he, the hurt I have done in Jerusalem, &c. and know, that therefore all these miseries are fallen upon me.* And Mauritius the Emperor, seeing his Children kill'd before his Face, and himself also design'd for Slaughter, acknowledg'd God's Justice, saying, (f) *Thou art just O Lord, and thy judgments are right, and full of equity.* The like may be noted in Alphonsus

(a) Chrysost. in 16. Luc. concio. 4. (b) Greg.

(c) *Machab.* 6.12. (f) *Nicephor.* li. 18. cap. 40.

(e) *i* Machab. 6.12. (f) *Nicephor.* li. 18. cap. 40.

King of Naples, of whom I have spoken before, (a) and infinite others whom I omit for brevity sake; and this all wicked Counsellors ought well to consider and fear; in respect of the hurt that may thereby ensue, as well to themselves, as to their Princes; because the Worm of Conscience breeds not only remorse, and repentance of the evil act, but also hatred both of the Counsel, and Counsellor; as it did in King *Adelstan*, the first Monarch of England, after the entry of the Saxens, (b) who, being seduc'd by the bad Counsel, and false suggestions of one of his favorites, banish'd his Brother *Edwin* unjustly, commanding him to be set to Sea, with only one Servant, in a Boat without a Sail, wherein he perish'd; which when King *Adelstan* understood, he fell into such a remorse of his own offence, and so much repented it, that he not only took upon him Seven Years Pennance, but also grew by little and little to detest and abhor his favorit, who had Counsell'd him to it; insomuch, that in the end he cut off his Head; taking occasion upon certain words of his, who being his Cup-bearer, and coming one Day to give him Drink in a Solemn and publick Feast, and chancing to stumble with one Foot, and to recover himself with the other, sayd, *so one brother helps another*; whereupon the King rememb'ring the loss of his Brother, was so mov'd thereby, that he caus'd him presently to be taken and Executed.

(a) Guicc. lib. 2. cap. 22. num. 6. 7. 8. (b) Guicciardini Malpenses. li. 2. ca. 6. Matth. VVestmonast. an. 934.

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4. Furthermore, a Counsellor is to consider, that Counselling his Prince against his Conscience, he endangers not only his Princes Soul, as I have signifi'd before, but also his Temporal State, exposing him and it, to the just wrath and punishment of Almighty God; upon whose Will depend the States of all Princes, as I have largely prov'd already. Besides, no Man knows for how small an offence in the sight of Man, God may punish a Prince in his Person or State. *Moyses* for a little distrust in the promise of God, dy'd before he enter'd into the Land of Promise. (a) King *Saul* was rejected by Almighty God, and dispossess'd of his Kingdom, for reserving some part of the Spoyl of *Amaleck*, at the request of the People, contrary to the command of the Prophet. (b) *David* was punish'd with the loss and destruction of seventy thousand of his Subjects, for numbring 'em. (c) And *Ezechias* for his vain glory, in shewing his Treasure to the Embassadors of the King of *Babylon*, was threaten'd by the Prophet, with the Spoyl of his Pallace, and Captivity of his Posterity, which was afterwards fulfill'd. (d)

5. But of all other acts against Conscience, for which God punishes Princes and their States, none are more pernicious to a State, than such as are committed with intention and hope to benefit the State, for how little soever some of 'em may seem to be in their own nature, yet they

(a) Num. ca. 20. Deut. ca. 1. (b) 1 Reg. c. 19
(c) 2 Reg. c. 24. (d) 4 Reg. ca. 20. 2 Par. ca. 33
Isa. ca. 38,

have one circumstance, which greatly aggravates 'em, and makes 'em very hainous in the sight of God; seeing that wicked Policies commonly proceed from distrust or want of belief in God's Providence; for no Man who sincerely believes, that all States depend upon God's Will, and Providence, can with any reason persuade himself, that any thing which is offensive to God, can be good for the State; and therefore no wonder if Almighty God, who of his justice punishes sinners many times, by the same means whereby they offend him, often turns the wicked Policies of *Machevillians* to their own destructions, ordaining, as *Salomon* says, (a) That what the wicked Man fears shou'd fall upon him.

6. So it fell out to *Pharao*, who fearing lest the Children of *Israel* might multiply overmuch to the danger of his State, oppres'd 'em wrongfully, (b) and commanded that their Male Children shou'd be cast into the River, as soon as they were Born; nevertheless, the more they were oppres'd, the more they enreas'd and multiply'd. And throu' the special Providence of God, *Moyses* was sav'd from drowning, and nourish'd by *Pharao* own Daughter; (c) and by his Ministry the Children of *Israel* were deliver'd, *Egypt* Spoyl'd and *Pharao* himself with all his Army drown'd. (d) So it also fell out to the *Jews*, who fearing lest *Christ*, if he shou'd live any time, wou'd draw too many to believe in him, that the *Romans* would

(a) Proverb 10. 24. (b) Exod. 1. (c) Ibid. 62. 12. (d) Ibid. 62. 14.

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easily destroy their Temple and Nation, for want of People to defend the same, resolv'd to kill him, (a) and so drew upon themselves, and their Temple, the destruction which they sought to prevent; God so disposing, for the punishment of their wickedness, that the *Romans* shou'd afterwards utterly destroy their Temple and Country, as I have before fully declar'd; (b) Whereupon Saint Austin says, (c) That whilst for fear of loosing their Temporal State, they contemn'd the Eternal; they justly lost both.

7. The like Justice and Judgment of Almighty God may be noted in King *Astiages*, (d) who fearing that his Daughter's Issue might deprive him of his Kingdom, thought to prevent it by the Murder of her Son *Cyrus*, commanding *Harpagus* to destroy him, as soon as he was Born; but God so dispos'd, that the Child was sav'd contrary to the expectation of 'em both; who afterwards dispossess'd *Astiages* of his Kingdom, with the assistance of *Harpagus*, whom *Astiages* had made the instrument of his wickedness. So also it happen'd to *Amulius*; (e) who thinking to assure his own State, by the Murder of his two Nephews, *Romulus* and *Remus*, caus'd 'em to be expos'd in the Woods, when they were new Born; to the end they might be devour'd by wild Beasts, or otherways perish; whom nevertheless it pleas'd God to preserve, and by the means of *Romulus*, to dispossess *Amulius* of his Kingdom.

(a) *Ioan. cap. 11.* (b) *Tom. 1. cap. 19.*

(c) *Sug. Traet. 49. in Ioan.* (d) *Iustin. lib. 1.*

(e) *Idem lib. 43. Plutarch in Romulo.*

8. But to speak of Christians. In the time of the Emperor *Valentinian the III.* *Attila the Scithian*, and King of the *Hunn's*, (a) who call'd himself *Flagellum Dei*, *The Scourge of God*, invaded the *Roman Empire*, with an Army of eleven hundred thousand Men, and having already possest himself of all *Pannonia*; since call'd *Hungary*, pass'd throu' *Germany* into *France*; using all kinds of cruelty upon all sorts of *Christians*, threatening utter ruin, as well to *Christian Religion*, as to the *Roman Empire*; whereupon the famous Captain *Ætius*, being assisted by *Theodoricus King of the Goths*, and divers other Princes, gave him Battel in *France*, not far from *Orleans*, in which Battel there were Slain a hundred and fourscore thousand on both sides, and *Attila* overthrown in such a manner, that he had no means to save his own Person, but by retiring himself into his Camp, where he fortifi'd himself, and nevertheless might easily have been either kill'd or taken, and *Christendom* hereby deliver'd from a most potent and dreadful Enemy, if *Ætius* wou'd have us'd his utmost endeavour; who preferring reason of State, before true *Christian Zeal*, and God's Service; spar'd him, fearing lest if he were utterly overcome, the *Goths*, who had already Conquer'd all *Spain*, and a great part of *France*, wou'd be far more dangerous to the *Roman Empire*, being freed from the fear of *Attila*, who was a common Enemy to both; for which respect, he suffer'd him to escape with the Re-licks of his Army into *Hungary*; which by the judg-

(a) *Paul. Diaet. lib. 15.*

Judgment

Judgment of Almighty God, turn'd as well to the destruction of *Aetius*, as to the great danger of the Empire; for *Aetius* being return'd most Triumphant to *Rome*, fell shortly after into the disgrace of the Emperor, who suspected, that he had spar'd *Attila* to make himself Emperor by his assistance; whereupon he slew *Aetius* with his own hand, and *Attila* having within a while repair'd his Army was more terrible and noisome to the *Roman Empire* than before; for he came into *Italy*, putting all to Fire and Sword, raz'd *Aquileia* to the ground, took *Pavia*, sack'd and destroy'd *Milan*, and march'd towards *Rome* to besiege it; which he had done, if he had not been diverted from it by Pope *Leo* the great, who going himself in Person to him, persuad'd him to desist from the enterprise, and to retire himself into *Hungary*, as he did presently; and being demand'd by some of his Nobility, why he chang'd his resolution so suddenly, he answer'd, that he durst not do otherwise; because two grave old Men apparell'd like Priests, stood by Pope *Leo* all the time of their Conference, with Swords in their hands, and threaten'd to kill him if he did not satisfie the Pope. But to return to *Aetius*; we see in him the bad success of his Policy, and how it turn'd to his destruction, when he preferr'd reason of State before Conscience, and the Service of God. (a)

(a) *Blondus decad. 2, lib. 2, Sabellic. Ennisd. 8.*
lib. 1, Baron, an. 452.

9. Hereunto I may add some others of latter time, of whom I have also spoken before upon other occasions; as *Cæsar Borgia*, the Mirror of Machiavels Prince, who determining to Poyson Cardinal *Cometti*, Poyson'd his own Father and himself. (a) In like manner the Queen of *Hungary*, thinking to maintain her self and her Son in the unjust Possession of that Kingdom, against *Ferdinand* then King of *Romans*, and after Emperor, crav'd aid of *Selyman* the great *Turk*, by whom both she and her Son were depriv'd of their Kingdom. (b) And lastly, I may conclude with a most manifest example of God's exemplar Justice in this kind, extended some Years since, to *Henry the III.* King of *France*, who rejecting Conscience in the breach of his Oath, overthrew both himself and his State, by the same means, whereby he thought to preserve both; which was, by the Slaughter of the Cardinal and Duke of *Guise*, after his Reconciliation with 'em, confirm'd on his part by Solemn Oaths; with many Imprecations, and Maledictions against himself, giving himself to the Devil, Body and Soul, in case he meant, or shou'd attempt any thing against 'em; receiving also the Blessed Sacrament publickly for their farther assurance; which promise and Oath he was bound in Conscience to perform, notwithstanding any former act or demerit of theirs; yet nevertheless, he caus'd the Duke to be kill'd in his own Presence, and the Cardinal

(a) Tom. 2. Chap. 13 num. 4. & 5. *Crucifer lib. 6.* (b) *Surius in common. an. 1541.*

the next day after; whereby he thought he had so assur'd his State, that he boasted with great joy and triumph, as well to the Queen his Mother, as to his favorites, that he was then King; meaning, that during the Dukes Life, he had been King only in Name, and not in deed; whereas it fell out throu' God's just Judgment, that the Dukes Death, was the means of depriving him both of his Kingdom and Life; for, not only all the principal Towns in *France* revolted presently from him, for the horror and hatred of the fact, but also he himself, within eight Months after, having levy'd fifty thousand Men for the Siege of *Paris*, was miserably Slain, in the midst of his Army, by a poor simple Frier, call'd *Clement*: Whose name I note, because Saint *Clement* was ordain'd by the King, to serve for the watch word to those, who Slew the Duke; and not without Mystery, throu' God's special Providence, signifying, as 'twere Prophetically, the Name of him, whose hand shou'd revenge it. Whereby it may appear how dangerous, and pernicious all Counsels, or attempts against Conscience are to States, and who, as *Job* says, (a) *Over-reaches the wise Men of the world in their own craft, and sability, and dissipates the Counsels, and Plots of wicked Men.* Wherefore it may truly be sayd of *Machiavillian* Princes, and their wicked Counsellors, as the Prophet sayd of the King and Counsellors of *Egypt*. *The Princes are fools and their wise Counsellors have giv'n foolish Counsel, our Lord has cast amongst 'em the spirit of giddiness,*

(a) *Job. esp. 5. Ver. 13.*

and

and has made 'em stagger and err in all their works ; like a reeling and vomiting drunken Man. (a)

10. As for reputation, which is also call'd, *Honor, Estimation, Fame, Credit, or Good Name*, no small regard is to be had thereunto, when there is any question of the Princes commodity ; seeing that of all external goods, 'tis the principal, and most precious ; and as Saint Thomas affirms, (b) *Most like to the goods of the mind*, whereupon *Salomon* says, (c) *A good Name is better than great riches*. Which is evident in matters of State, because reputation conserves the States of Princes many times, no les or rather more than wealth and force. In which respect *Tiberius Cæsar* was us'd to say, as *Tacitus* notes, (d) *That thô the deliberation of all other Men, commonly consists in the consideration of utility and profit ; yet the State of a Prince is such, that he ought chiefly to respect fame and reputation* ; and the reason is, because the los of reputation, is not only a sign , or as I may say the preamble, of a Princes fall, but also many times the occasion thereof; because the affection of friends, and the respect, fear, and obedience of Subjects, do commonly fall and thereby decay ; whereupon follows the Subversion of States.

11. Now then, whereas the reputation of Princes consists, especially in four things, that is, *Wisdom, Valour, Virtue and Power* ; all Counsel tending to commodity is to be weigh'd with his reputation,

(a) *Isay. ca. 19. 11.* (b) *Thom. 12. 9. 73. ar.*
2. & 3. (c) *Prov. ca. 22. 1.* (d) *Tacit. li. 4. annal.*
for

for nothing that may impair the honor of the Prince in any of these, can be accounted truly commodious for him; therefore *Philip de Comines* gives advice concerning the Princes Wisdom, (a) that if he be not very wise, and of good parts, great care must be had, that Strangers be not admitted to his Presence; especially, to treat with him; lest the discovery of his imperfection in that behalfe, may blemish his reputation, and animate his Enemies to contemn him; and the *French* Historians affirm, (b) that the opinion which Men had of the Wisdom of *Charles the V.* King of *France*, call'd the wise, avail'd him more against the *English*, than his force; insomuch, that the dispatches which he made in his Chamber, were more feir'd than his Armies in the Field.

12. The like also is to be sayd of the opinion of valour in a Prince, which makes him no less formidable to his Enemies, then belov'd by his Friends and Subjects; whereas the opinion of his effeminacy or baseness of mind, makes him contemptible to all Men; and often causes the deposition, and destruction of Princes; as it did to *Sardanapalus* the great *Affyrian* King; (c) to *Chil-deric* King of *France*; (d) to *Wenceslaus* the Emperor, (e) and to many others.

13. And as for vertue, wherein I include Religion also, *Aristotle* teaches, (f) that the only reputation, and opinion thereof, is a great support,

(a) *Philip. de Com. cap. 57.* (b) *Du Haillan du Charles le Sage.* (c) *Iustin. lib. I.* (d) *Paulus Æmilius in Chilper.* (e) *Naucler. chron. 1400.*
(f) *Arist. lib. 5. Polis.*

and

and stay to a Princes State ; in respect that all Men commonly conceive , that a Vertuous and Religious Prince, is in the favor, and protection of Almighty God ; and therefore , Achior chief Captain of the *Amonites*, Counsell'd *Holofernes* when he made War upon the Children of *Israel*, to inform himself, whether they had committed any great offences against their God , whereby they might loose his favor ; assuring him, that otherwise 'twould be in vain to assaile 'em ; because their God wou'd defend 'em. And the like conceit, it seems, *Lewellin* Prince of *Wales* had of *Henry* the III. King of *England* ; (a) for when certain Bishops, who were sent by the King to Treat with him, to reduce him to Obedience, threaten'd him with the King's great Power, and Forces, he answer'd, that he fear'd more his Alms , than his Armies ; meaning, that he doubted lest in respect of his great Charity and Piety, God wou'd protect and assist him ; and that otherwise he wou'd little value his Force and Power. So much it imports a Prince to have the reputation of Virtue and Religion, which serves for a bridle, both to his Domestick and Forraign Enemies , to with-hold 'em from all attempts against him ; besides, it causes also, that his faults and errors are either not believ'd, or more easily excus'd, or the blame thereof lay'd upon his Counsellors.

14. And for these causes *Machiavel* also Counsels his Prince, (b) to procure by all means to

(a) *Mattheus Paris in Henr. 3.*
in prin.

(b) *Mach.*
studii

have

have the reputation of a Religious, Just, and Vertuous Prince; thô he teaches him withal to be a most wicked Tyrant: Wherein I cannot omit by the way, to note the absurdity of his Doctrin, very much impugning and contradicting it self, seeing he will have his Prince to seem a Lamb, and be a Woolf; and to make shew of a Saint, and be indeed a Devil; which is no more possible than as the Comical Poet says, (a) *Cum ratione insinare*; *To be Mad with reason*: For all fain'd things, says *Cicero*, (b) fade and fall away like Flowers; and nothing that is dissembl'd can last long: Which our Saviour himself confirms, saying expreſſly of hypocritie; (c) *Take heed of the leuen of the Pharises, that is to say, hypocritie, for nothing is secret that shall not be reveald, nor any thing hid, that shall not be known*.

15. And this is more evident in dissembling, and hypocritical Tyrants, than in any other sort of Men; because so violent is the flame of Tyranny, that it breaks out throu' the weak and cloven Walls of hypocritie, and discovers it self to the World; such being the State of publick persons, and especially of Princes, whose actions are ſubject to the eyes and censures of all Men, that their leaſt faults cannot paſs either unknown, or uncontroll'd by the People; as *Plutarch* excellently affirms, (d) advising Princes, to have a ſpecial regard to all their actions, because the leaſt defects, or imperfections are noted; which he

(a) *Terent. in Eunuch.* (b) *Cicero de Offi.*
 (c) *Luc. ea. 12. I. 26.* (d) *Plutarch*, in his in-
 ſtructions for those that manage matters of State.

confirms by the examples of divers Princes ; as of **Pompey** the great, noted of singularity for scratching his head with one finger ; **Lucullus**, censur'd to be over delicate in his Dyet ; the famous **Sipio**, blam'd for sleeping much ; and **Cæsar** for going ill girded : What then shall we say of Tyrannical Acts, such as **Machiavel** commends in his Prince ; I mean Murders, breach of promises and oaths, frauds and deceit, and all kind of injustice ? Can any man with reason think , that the same can be sufficiently cover'd with any cloak of hypocrisie ? Or can a people be so simple, or senseless as not to know , and see a Tyranny , when they see the manifest effects , and feel the heavy weight thereof in themselves ? Wherefore , what else can follow of hypocrisie in a Tyrant , but that his Subjects will hate him much more , and the sooner conspire his overthrow , as of one no less odious to God , than Man ? Whereby the Scripture will be fulfill'd , which says , that (*a*) *The Heavens shall reveal the iniquity of the hypocrite and the Earth shall rise against him.*

16. But because I am to speak on set purpose and much more amply of this matter hereafter it shall suffice to have sayd thus much here by the way , and withal hereupon to infer , that the reputation of virtue which is necessary for the conservation of a Prince , must be grounded upon true virtue , and not upon vain shews and hypocritical dissimulations ; for , as true Religion , Justice , and Virtue , joyn'd with Princely Power

(a) Job. cap. 20. ver. 27.

create in Subjects admiration, respect, reverence, and love towards their Prince: So impiety, injustice, and intemperance in him, breed in his Subjects either hatred, or else contempt of his Person; for of the Crimes of impiety, and injustice, as perjury, deceit, and cruelty, proceeds hatred; and of the Vices that grow of intemperance, as Lasciviousness, Drunkennes, and such like, is engendred contempt, as I wou'd declare here more at large, did I not reserve a farther Discourse hereof to a future Treatise, where I determine to speak of the Princes vertues more particularly, and amply, in respect that all perfection of virtue, proceeds from God's Grace, and true Religion, whereof I am to treat there.

17. Nevertheless I think fit to say somewhat more in this place, concerning one special vertue very requisite in a Prince for his reputation, to wit, truth, fidelity, and constancy, in the exact observation of his Oaths, Promises and Word; whereof I am the more willing to treat, since *Machiavel* allow's, and commends all manner of falsehood, deceit, treachery and perjury in a Prince, when he may hope to gain, or to benefit his State thereby. But how impious and absurd this Doctrin is, and how pernicious to Princes and their States, it will appear more evidently, if we consider how dangerous and damageable all falsehood, and deceit is to the Common-wealth; for the conservation whereof, nothing is more necessary then truth, and fidelity, as well in the Prince as in the People.

18. Therefore Cicero says, (a) that *Fides*, which we may call *Fidelity*, consisting as he says, in the *Verity*, and constant performance of words, promises, and covenants, is *Fundamentum iustitiae*, The foundation of justice, which is the special prop and stay of the State, in which respect he calls it *Communum omnium praesidium*; The common defence, or refuge of all Men: (b) and also says, that *Nulla res vehementius rempublicam continet quam fides*; Nothing do's more firmly unite and hold together the Common-wealth than fidelity; (c) and Valerius calls it; (d) *Venerabile numen & certissimum humanae salutis pignus*; A venerable and Divine Power, and the most sure pledge of human security; and the Romans so much esteem'd it that they Built, and Dedicated a Temple to it, as to a Goddess, (e) in which Temple all Leagues, Truces, Covenants, and Important Contracts, were publickly made and sworn; which were so Religiously observ'd, that whosoever broke 'em, was held for a curs'd and damn'd Creature, and unworthy to live in human society: And with great reason, for if falsehood and fraud were permitted to have course in Common-wealths, what trust and confidence; wou'd there be amongst Men, what Traffick or Commerce with Strangers or Friends? What assurance in Leagues with Forraign Princes, in Contracts and Marriages, in Promises and Contracts, in Buying or Selling? What Love? What Society? What Commonwealth? Which consists in the Communication

(a) Cicero li. 1. de Offic. (b) Idem pro Sext. Ros. (c) Idem. li. 2. de Offic. (d) Valer. li. 6. ca. 6. Dionys. Hal. ar. li. 2. (e) Livy. li. & 2.

of

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of Commodities one with another, and flourishes so much the more, by how much every one tenders, and desires the publick good more than his own, in which respect it is call'd *Res publica*, that is, *weal publick*. And therefore if trusty and faithful dealing shou'd fail among Men, there wou'd be no more civil society amongst 'em then amongst Tygers, and Bears, Foxes, and Wolves, Cats, and Dogs; which the Apostle insinuates very well when he exhorts the *Ephesians*, and in them all other Christians to use all sincerity, and truth one with another, because we are all combin'd in one Mystical Body; (a) Wherefore, says he, laying aside all Lyes, let every one of you speak the Truth to his Neighbour. Because we are all Members one of another.

19. Hereupon it follows, that fidelity is not only most necessary in Subjects, but also in a Prince, for the preservation of the Common-wealth; for seeing nothing is more requisite for the maintenance of the Body-politick than the union of the Head with its Members, the Prince with his People, and nothing again more necessary, then their trust and confidence one in another, which cannot be where there is no fidelity; it follows, that nothing is more requisite for the conservation of both Prince, and People, than fidelity in both; without which neither the Subjects can assure themselves of their Princes Protection, nor the Prince be satisfi'd of the Loyalty of his Subjects.

(a) Ephes. cap. 4. ver. 25.

20. And to speak here particularly of the Prince; 'tis to be consider'd, that the want of fidelity and sincerity in him, is most dangerous not only to the Common-wealth, but also to himself; as 'twill evidently appear if we weigh the force and effect of the Princes good or bad example, and how potent a Motive 'tis to induce his Subjects to Virtue or Vice; seeing as *Salomon* says, and experience teaches, (a) that; *such as is the Governor of the City, such is its Inhabitants.* Wherefore as the example of the Princes fidelity redounds both to the good of the Common-wealth, and also to his own security, because the People Learn thereby to be not only faithful one to another, but also dutiful, and loyal to him, so also the example of perfidiousness and double dealing in him, works the contrary effect, and teaches his Subjects to be no less faithless, and Traiterous towards him, then fraudulent, and Treacherous one towards another, which may turn as well to his destruction, as to the hurt of the Common-wealth.

21. But perhaps some *Machiavillian* may say, that thô the Prince for his own commodity uses sometimes to violate his Faith, yet he may so severely punish it in his Subjects, that no inconvenience will follow from example, either to the Common-wealth or to himself.

22. Whereunto I answer, that the Prince cannot with reason, expect that the severity of Laws, or other Politick means shall repress in his Com-

(a) Eccles. cap. 10. ver. 2.

mon-wealth any Vice which shall be Authoriz'd by the Example of his own practise; for as the Poët says, (*a*) *Totus componitur orbis Regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflictere sensus Humanos edicta valent, ut vita regemis.* The world is fram'd after the Model of the King, and no Laws or Edicts can so move the minds of Men, as the Life of the Governor; which Plutarch excellently confirms, saying, That as a Square, or Rule, must be straight in it self, before it can make things straight; so the Prince, who is, as 'twere, the Rule of his Subjects, ought first to rectifie himself, before he go about by Laws, or other means to rectifie his Common-wealth: For he who is failing in this, is not fit to uphold others; no more then he that is ignorant, is fit to teach; nor he that is incorrigible to correct; nor he that is himself disorder'd, to put others in order. Whereby we see, that a vicious Prince, who seeks to make his Subjects Vertuous by rigorous Laws, labors in vain, like one who builds with one hand, and pulls down with the other, and so destroys more in one day, than he can build in many: The same do's the bid example of a Prince, it corrupts more in a day, than his Laws can correct or amend in a year; as is evident enough by that which I have largely Discours'd elsewhere of Mans proneness to vice, with the facility, and different means found in every Common-wealth to evade and escape the Penalties of Laws.

23. This the Ancient Romans so well consider'd that their Magistrates, and Senat were most exact,

and punctual in the observation of Oaths, and Promises even to their very Enemies; for the regard they had not only to justice, and their own reputation, but also to the consequence of their good example in the Common-wealth; to which purpose I alledg'd before (a) upon another occasion the example of the worthy Consul *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, who being taken Prisoner by the *Carthaginians*, and dismis'd upon his Oath, promising either to procure the delivery of certain Prisoners, or to return himself to *Carthage*, was sent back by the Senat with his own consent, because the Senat did neither think it convenient to deliver the Prisoners, nor to recover and retain their Consul contrary to his Oath. The like I have also noted before in the same place, of *T. Veturius*, and *Spurinus Posthumius* Consuls, and of *T. Mutius* and *Q. Æmilius* Tribunes of the People, who were deliver'd Prisoners to the *Sannites*, because the Senat wou'd not Ratifie the Peace which the said Consul and Tribunes had made with them; to whom I may add *L. Minutius*, *C. Manlius*, *Q. Fabius*, and *C. Apronius*, Men of great dignity, (b) deliver'd also by order of the Senat to the Embassadors of *Carthage*, and of the City of *Appollonia*, for some abuses which they committed against the said Embassadors contrary to the Law of Nations.

34. The like remarkable examples of particular Men amongst the Pagans may also be alledg'd,

(a) Tom. 11 Chap. 5. Nu. 5. Cicero lib. 3. de Offic. (b) Valer. lib. 6. cap. 6.

whereof

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whereof for brevities sake I will relate only one or two. *Sextus Pompeius*, Son to *Pompey* the great, having Wars with *Antonius* the *Triumvir*, and meeting with him at the Sea-side upon a Treaty of Peace, invited him to Sup with him in his Galley, giving him his Oath for his assurance, and being secretly alk'd by *Metrodorus* the Pirat whilst they were at Table, whether he wou'd have him weigh Anker, and set Sail, and so make himself Lord of the World; he answer'd, that 'twas not his custom or condition to forswear himself, esteeming it neither honorable, nor profitable for him, to gain the Empire of the World by perjury. (a)

25. No less care of fidelity had *Lycurgus* Brother to *Polidectes* King of *Lacedemon*; (b) for, having taken upon him the Goverment of the Kingdom after his Brothers Death, at the instance of the people, till his Brothers Wife, who was great with Child, shou'd be brought to Bed, and the Child of years to Govern, and being solicited by her, to Marry her, upon her promise to kill the Child in her Womb, thereby to afflure his Kingdom, he not only refus'd it, but also Proclaim'd her Son King, as soon as he was Born; taking only the Tuitio[n] of him until he came to Age, as I have before declar'd more at large. (c)

26. I need not add hereunto any examples of Christian Princes whose Religion both teach

(a) *Plut.* in *Antonio.* (b) *Plut.* in *Lycur.*
(c) *Tom. 1, Ch. 8, Nu. 1.*

and bind 'em to be more exact and precise than Pagans in like cases ; ne ertheless, I cannot forbear to speak of a memorable act in this kind of the most Christian and Vertuous Prince Ferdinand Brother to *Henry* the III. King of *Castile*; which Ferdinand being left by his Brothers Testament Tutor to his Son King *John* the II. an Infant of Eight Months old, and being much urg'd by the three States of *Castile* to take the Crown to himself, wou'd by no means consent thereto, saying, *That he wou'd never be false, either to his Brother Dead, or to his Nephew Living, to whom he had promis'd fidelity;* (a) for which God rewarded him, six years after with the Kingdom of *Aragon*, whereunto he was chosen by the free Election of the Nobility, and Commons of the Realm. Behold then, how great respect not only this Christian Prince, but also the Pagans before nam'd, had to sincerity and fidelity, as well for the causes before mention'd, as also for the very detestation, and hatred of perfidiousness, being a vice of it self most odious, and unworthy of Princely Dignity.

27. For whereas all other vices and sins for the most part, are or may be attributed, either to frailty, or error, whereby they seem many times more worthy of pardon; perfidiousness is ever presum'd to proceed from a treacherous, maligne, vile, and base nature; and therefore not excusable in Princes, whose proceedings ought to be in all things real, generous, noble and

(a) *Luc. Marin, Siculus de reb. Hisp. li. ii.*

heroical

heroical; in which respect one false, and treacherous act suffices to eclipse, and obscure the glory of many great virtues, as Plutarch notes in *Alexander the great*, (a) who causing certain *Indian* Soldiers to be kill'd after they had render'd themselves unto him upon his Word, spotted and stain'd, says he, the Renown of all his glorious Conquests, and Royal Virtues with the Ignominy of this one act; and the reason is, because Mans credit and reputation in matter of trust, is so nice and delicate, that confidence, which is like a Glass, being once broken is not to be repair'd, wherefore he that is once known for a Lyer, is not believ'd when he speaks Truth, and he that is once reputed to be false, is ever suspected, and according to the common axiom of the Law. (b) *Qui semel malus, semper presumitur malus in eodem genere mali.* He who is once wicked is ever presump'd to be so in the same kind of wickedness; whereupon it follows, that a faithless Prince, is hated of his Subjects, suspected of his best Friends, irreconcilable with his Enemies, belov'd and trusted by none, and betray'd or forsaken by all Men, even in his greatest necessities, and that worthily; seeing he himself gives the bad example, which other Men follow to his overthrow.

28. But here the Politick, or Machiavillian will say, that a Wise Prince has sufficient remedies against these inconveniences, as strong Guards,

(a) *Plut. in Alexand.* (b) *L. si cui ff. de accusat. Bart. in l. Cassius de Sena.*

Garrisons, and Fortresles, besides his own Policy, assisted with the prudence of faithful and vigilant Counsellors, whereby he may securely make his advantage in all occasions, without fear of any dammage that may thereby ensue to his Person, or State. Thus says the *Machiavillian* most absurdly, as 'twill appear if we consider whence grow's the danger which the Prince incurrs by perfidious and deceitful dealing, being most hateful not only to Man, but also to God, whereby he draws upon him both Divine, and Human punishment, against which neither these, nor any other *Machiavillian* remedies can warrant him.

29. And first to speak of the offence of God and Divine punishment that follows it. We find in Holy Scripture, that nothing is more detestable to Almighty God then a deceitful, or double-dealing Man, and therefore the Holy Ghost says in the Proverbs : (a) *I detest a double Tongu'd Mouth.* And again in the same place. (b) *Every deceiver is abominable before God.* And the Royal Prophet coupling the deceiver with the blood-sucker, says of them both. (c) *God abhors the bloody, and deceitful Man;* and speaking of the deceitful Tongue of Doeg, he threatens him and all others with God's Vengeance, saying ; (d) *Our Lord will destroy deceitful Lips.* Then how odious all deceitful and double-dealing is to Almighty God, who being, *Ipsa veritas, Truth it self,* exacts nothing more of

(a) Prov. 8. 13. (b) Ibid. ca. 3. 32. (c) Psalm 5. 7. (d) Psalm 11. 4. Psalm 119. 3. 4.

Man Created to his Image, then verity and truth, and much more of a Prince than of any private person, because the Prince is his Image, not only by reason of the natural gifts of his Soul, as all other Men are, but also in respect of his Office; whereby he represents his person, as his Lieutenant, in the administration of Justice, whereof fidelity and truth is the foundation, as I have declar'd before. (a)

30. Nevertheless, 'tis to be understood, that thô all real, plain and true dealing be most requisite in a Prince, yet he is to use great discretion, and prudence therein, because infinite occasions occur, wherein Princes ought to conceal and cover their intentions, with more care and circumspection than all other Men, especially in matters to be executed: Wherefore great difference is to be noted betwixt telling a Lye, and concealing the truth, which the *Latins* do signifie in two proper words, that is, *Simulatio*, and *Dissimulatio*, whereof the first, which we may term *Simulation*, or *Fiction*, is ever unlawful, and therefore never to be us'd, and the latter, which we may call *Discreet Dissimulation*, is both lawful and commendable, and even sometimes so necessary in Princes, that it may well and truly be sayd; *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit Regnare.* He who knows not how to dissemble, that is to say discreetly to cover and cloke his intentions when occasion requires, knows not how to Reign. Whereas, of Simulation, Fiction, or Lying,

Salomon, being himself a most wise and potent Prince, sayd; (a) *A Lying Lip or Mouth doth not become a Prince*; in which respect he alio prayes to God; (b) *O Lord preserre and keep me far from Lying words*; and ag in in another parable he says; (c) *He which trusts to lyes feedeth the wind*; that is, as Saint Austin expounds it, (d) *Fit esca Spiritibus malis*; He becomes the Mea or Prey of wicked Spirits, or of the Devil, whose imitator, or rather whose Child he makes himself. For as our Saviour says, (e) *The Devil is a Lyer and the Father of Lyes*, and is therefore call'd *Diabolus* which signifies a *Deceiver*.

31. What then shall we say of a most treacherous, perfidious, and perjur'd person, such a Prince as *Machiavel* frames; can he deserve to be call'd the Image, Lieutenant, or Minister of God? Whose similitude, and likeness, he defaces in himself, whose Commission he abuses, and whose Holy Name he shamefully prophanes? What else can he expect at the hands of God, but sever punishment, not only in the World to come but also in this Life, if he repent not? This may appear by manifest examples, whereof I will alledge some, both Antient and Modern, out of approv'd Authors, to shew the impious absurdity of *Machiavels* Doctrin, allowing perfidiousnes and perjury in a Prince, as necessary sometimes for the benefit of his State.

- (a) *Prov. ca. 27. 7.* (b) *Ibid. ca. 30. 8.*
 (c) *Ibid. ca. 10. 4.* (d) *Aug. contra Crescon. 3. ca. 9.* (e) *Ioan. 8. 44.*

32. And first to speak of those Holy Scriptures, we Read in *Genesis*, (a) that *Simeon* and *Levi* the Children of *Jacob*, were curs'd by their Father at his Death, because they had violated their League made with *Sichem*, and *Hemor*, whom they destroy'd with their City, contrary to their promise and covenant. (b) *Cursed*, says *Jacob*, *be their fury because it was obstinate*; and prophesying farther of the Temporal punishment, which God wou'd inflict upon their posterity for the same, he adds, *I will divide them in Jacob, and disperse them amongst the Children of Israel*. Which was fulfill'd afterwards, as Saint *Hieron* witnesses, (c) because their Tribes had not their habitation apart as the others had, for the Tribe of *Levi* was divided, and sent into divers Cities amongst the other Tribes, to be their Levits, and Priests; and the Tribe of *Simeon*, had their dwelling with the Tribe of *Juda*; and as the *Hebrews* affirm, (d) serv'd for School-masters in all the other Tribes, and got their living by teaching Children.

33. In like manner the punishment of God was remarkable upon King *Saul's* posterity, (e) for his breach of League which *Josue* made with the *Gabaonites*; (f) wherein 'tis to be noted, that thô the *Gabaonites* craftily circumvented *Josue*, and induc'd him by fraud and deceit to make a League with 'em, putting on their old Shooes and torn

(a) *Genes. 34.* (b) *Genel. 49. 5. 7.* (c) *Hieron. in tradition, hebraicis in Genesim.* (d) *Pereinus in Genes. cap. 49.* (e) *2 Reg. cap. 21.* (f) *Josue 9.*

Clothes, and affirming that they were a people dwelling in a far Country, who being mov'd with the fame of his Victories, were come so many days Journey to meet him, that they had worn out their Shooes and Clothes in their Voyage, whereas they dwelt not far of, and in the very Land of Promise which God had given to the Children of *Israel*, nevertheless when *Josue* discover'd their deceit he had such regard to his Oath, that he wou'd by no means violate it, but answer'd to the Children of *Israel*, when they murmur'd against him, saying, (d) *We have sworn unto them in the Name of the Lord God of Israel, and therefore we may not touch 'em lest the wrath of God falls upon us if we break our Oath.* Thus says *Josue* whereby we may learn how great the obligation is of all just, and lawful Leagues, or other Covenants pass'd by Oath; and how dangerous the breach thereof is, in respect of God's just and severe judgment upon the offenders in that behalf, whereof the experience was seen above three hundred years after *Josues* time in the breach of that League made by *Saul*, for which the Children of *Israël* were afflicted with three years Famine in *Davids* time, and seven of *Sauls* Children, and his family were deliver'd into the hands of the *Gabaonites*, and Crucifi'd by them in punishment of *Sauls* offence. (b)

34. Moreover we Read in the Book of *Machabees* (c) that *Andronicus*, a favorite of King *Antiochus*,

(a) *Iosue cap. 9. ver. 19.* (b) *Reg. cap. 21.*
(c) *2 Mach. cap. 4.*

thus, was by the just judgment of God, and the Command of *Antiochus* himself, shamefully put to Death, in the same place where he had kill'd *Onias* the High Priest, who had render'd himself upon his promise of security. Also the examples hereof are very remarkable amongst the Heathens who observ'd diligently the Judgments of God upon traitorous and perfidious persons; and therefore when *Tissaphernes* the *Persian* made War against the *Grecians*, and broke a Truce which he had made with 'em for three Months. *Agesilaus* greatly rejoic'd, saying, (a) *We are beholding to Tissaphernes, for making the Gods his Enemies, and our Friends, wherefore let us boldly give him Battel*, and so he did, and gave him a great overthrow.

35. *Plutarch* also recounts a memorable example of *Cleomenes* King of *Lacedaemon*, (b) who having made Truce with the *Argians* for seven days, set upon their Camp in the Night, and taking 'em unprovided by reason of the Truce, made great Slaughter of 'em, and being reproach'd with the breach of his promise and oath, he jested at it, saying, *That he swore Truce for the Days, and not for the Nights*, but so it fell out, says *Plutarch*, in punishment of his falsehood and perjury, that it serv'd him to no purpose; for whereas he assai'd the City presently, hoping to take it with all facility, he had a shameful repulse by the Women, who dwelt therein; and after

(a) *Polim.* li. 2. (b) *Plutar.* in *Apoph.*
Lacedemon.

falling furiously Mad, he took a Knife and ripp'd up his own Body, from his very Heel to his Heart, and so dy'd laughing.

36. The same Author also signifies, (a) that one *Calippus* being justly charg'd with a Conspiracy against *Dion* of *Sicily*, and having deny'd it with many Solemn Oaths in the Temple of *Ceres*, was by God's just Judgment Slain with the same Dagger wherewith *Dion* was kill'd before by his eonent. I omit divers other examples, which might be alledg'd out of prophane Historians, to add a few out of Christian, and Modern Authors.

37. The severe Judgments of God upon Men for the sin of perjury, have been always so evident amongst Christians, that the custom was in the Primitive Church to decide matters in Controversie by Oaths at certain holy places, and the Tombs of Martyrs, where Almighty God ordinarily extended his Justice upon perjur'd persons, which custom as Saint *Austin* witnesses, (b) was in use in his time at *Milan*, whereof he says; *I my self have known, that in Milan at the Shrines of Saints, where Devils do Miraculously and terribly confess the truth, a certain Thief who went thither with intention to deceive by perjury, was compell'd to confess his Theft, and to restore that which he had stol'n.* Signifying withal, that he had sent a Priest of his call'd *Bonifacius*, and another who had accus'd him of certain Crimes, to the Body of Saint *Felix* at *Nola* in *Italy*, where he says great

(a) *Plut.* in *Dione.* (b) *Aug.* ep. 137.

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Miracles were then wrought, to the end that the bad Conscience of one of 'em, might there be discover'd, either by fear, or Divine punishment; (a) and farther debating in the same place, why God, who is every where, and to be Ador'd in Spirit and Truth, do's shew his power and judgments Miraculously in some places, more then in others? He concludes, (b) that 'tis to be left to the inscrutable Judgments of God; for, says he, as he gives his Graces, and gifts differently to his Servants, to one the Grace to heal and cure diseases, to another to discern Spirits, and not all gifts to all alike: So also he will not, that these kind of Miracles be done in all places alike.

38. But to proceed, Saint *Gregory* testifies, (c) that the same custom of the discovery of truth, by Oaths in Holy places, was also us'd in his time; namely in *Rome*, at the Bodies of the Saints *Processus*, and *Martinian*; where he says, *Perjuri veniunt, & à demonibus vexantur, demoniaci veniunt & liberantur*. *Perjur'd persons come thither, and are vex'd with Devils, and such as are possest with Devils are deliver'd*. And the like is also witnessed by S. *Gregory* of *Tours* (d) of the Body of Saint *Pancratius* in *Rome*; whom he therefore calls; *Valde in perjuris ultorem*; *A severe punisher of perjury*; affirming, that as soon as the party, who came thither for his purgation, did forswear himself, he was either presently possest by the Devil, or else fell down

(a) *Aug. ep. 237.* (b) *Ibid.* (c) *Grego. Hom. 32. in Evan.* (d) *Greg. Turo. de gloria Mart. ca. 39.*

dead upon the ground ; and recounts the same of the Body of Saint Polieuctus in Constantinople. (a)

39. But of this matter we have a most famous, and Authentical example in our own Histories. *Elfred* a Noble Man of *England*, in the time of King *Adelstan*, with some others Conspir'd against him, and being accus'd thereof, stood upon his justification, and because the evidence was not sufficient to convince him, he was sent to *Rome*, as the custom was then, to make his Purgation by Oath at the Body of Saint *Peter*; where he Swore contrary to his own Conscience, and presently fell down before the Altar, and dy'd within three days after ; (b) upon notice whereof, King *Adelstan*, to shew his Gratitude and Devotion towards Saint *Peter*, gave all the Lands of *Elfred* unto the Church of Saint *Peter* in the Abby of *Malmesbury* by Letters Patents , wherein , after the grant of the said Lands, he declar'd the whole matter, as it pass'd, in these words.

40. Be it known to all Wise Men of this our Country, that we have not taken unjustly the foresaid Lands, nor giv'n to God an unlawful Spoil, but we receiv'd 'em , as well by the judgment of all the Nobility of *England*, as also of John the Apostolical Pope of the Roman Church, by the Death of *Elfred*, who was the Enemy of our Life, and Felicity, and consented to the wickedness of other our Enemies, which Conspir'd to put out our Eyes at the Town of *Winchester*, asier our Fathers Death; from

(a) Idem Ibid. cap. 103.
de gest. Reg. Ang. li. 2, ca. 6.

(b) Gul. Malmesb.

which

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which God of his great Mercy deliver'd us; whereupon their Conspiracy being discover'd, and Elfred sent to Rome to purge himself before John the Apostolical Bishop, he took his Oath at the Altar of Saint Peter, and presently fell down to the ground, and was carry'd away by his Servants to the (a) School of the English, where he dy'd the third Night after, and then the Apostolical Bishop sent to us, to know what we wou'd have to be done with the Body, and whether it shou'd be Bury'd with Christian Burial, which at the earnest, and humble suit of his Kinsfolks, and others of our Nobility, we were content to grant; and so we signifi'd unto the Pope, by whose consent he was Bury'd amongst other Christians, thô unworthy thereof; and so all his Possessions little and great, were adjudg'd to us, which we have thought good to signifie by these Letters Patents, to the end that so long as Christianity shall Reign, it may be known how we got the foresaid Possessions, which we have now given to God and Saint Peter, it seeming to us most just, to give the same to them who overthrew our Enemy in the sight of all Men, and gave us the prosperous Reign and Kingdom which we enjoy. VVilliam of Malmesbury, (b) who liv'd in VVilliam the Conquerors time, cites these Letters Patents, out of the Original then extant in the Abby, where he Writ his History.

(a) This School of the English was not where the English Hospital is now, as Polidor Virgil erroneously conceives, but where the Hospital of S. Spirito is near to Saint Peters. (b) Gul. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Angl. li. 2. ca. 6.

41. Also some Years after in the same Age,
 (a) *Lotharius King of Austrasia*, which contain'd
 all *Lorrain*, *Flanders*, and some part of *Germany*,
Burgundy and *France*, came to *Rome* accompany'd
 with all his Nobility in the time of *Adrian the II.*
 to be Absolv'd from the Excommunication which
 he had incurr'd, in the time of Pope *Nicolas the I.*
 for his Divorce from his lawful Wife *Theutperga*,
 and his Marriage with *Vvaldrada* his Concubine;
 and whereas he had been also farther accus'd to
 the See Apostolick, of divers Crimes concerning
 the same matter, he was content for his justifica-
 tion, to receive the Blessed Sacrament at the
 hands of Pope *Adrian*, together with his Nobility,
 which he did, protesting for his part, that he was
 innocent of those things, whereof he had been
 accus'd, which his Nobility also confirm'd, thô
 'twas most faliè; as afterwards it evidently appear'd
 by God's exemplar punishment upon 'em
 all; for whereas they departed homewards
 shortly after from *Rome*, there fell amongst 'em
 such a strange disease, that *Lotharius* having seen
 the Death of most of his Noble Men, before he
 came to *Luca*, fell sick there himself, and a few
 days after, dy'd at *Placentia*; (b) and of all
 those who receiv'd the Blessed Sacrament with
 him, there liv'd not any one to the Years end,
 as testifies *Regino*, *Aymonius*, *Sigoni*, *Nauclerus*
 and divers others.

(a) *Regino. Chron. Aymoyn. li. 5. ca. 21. Sigoni de reg. Ital. an. 869. Naucler. Chren. an. 867. Baron. an. 868.* (b) *Vbi supra.*

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42. But to return to our own Country. (4) Earl *Godwin*, Father to King *Harold*, having procur'd the untimely Death of *Alfred*, Brother to King *Edward the Confessor*, continually deny'd the fact by Solemn Oath, and especially once, when he Din'd with the King; at what time, occasion being offer'd to speak of that matter, he took a piece of Bread and pray'd God, that the same might be his last, if he were any way consenting, or privy thereunto, and so eating the Bread he was chok'd therewith, and dy'd there in the Kings Presence.

43. 'Tis also observ'd and testifi'd by most of the Ancient Historians of our Country, that the overthrow of King *Harold* by *William*, the Conqueror, was a just punishment of God upon him for his perjury; the Story is briefly thus. *Harold* being in *Normandy* with Duke *William*, in the time of King *Edward the Confessor*, promis'd to assist him in his pretence to the Crown of *England*, after the Death of the King, which he also confirm'd by Solemn Oath: Whereupon Duke *William* fianc'd his Daughter unto him, and because she was not then of years to be Marry'd, he took *Harold's* Oath to perform the Marriage within a certain time after. But when the time appointed for the Marriage was expir'd, and *Harold* shew'd no care, to perform any part of his promises, the Duke sent Messengers to him to desire him to fulfill what he had promis'd, but

(4) *Henry Hunt. Hist. li. 6. Ingulphus Hist. Angli. an. 15. Polidor. Hist. Angli.*

he instead of giving satisfaction to the Duke, derided and abus'd his Messengers; causing some of their Horse Tailes to be cut off, and others to be lam'd; and afterwards when King Edward dy'd, he endeavour'd not only to exclude the Duke from the Crown, but also to procure it for himself; pret'ning that his promise to the Duke was made out of fear, and that therefore it cou'd not bind him. And when the Duke was enter'd in *England* with his Army, and solicited him by Messengers to have care of his Conscience, representing to him the severe judgments of God upon perjur'd persons, offering to come to some reasonable composition with him; he made no account thereof, nor of the admonition of his own Brother call'd *Gurth*, who advis'd him seriously before the Battel to retire himself, and to leave the conduct of the Army unto him, and others who were not bound to the Duke by any Oath or Promise; lest otherwise God shou'd suffer 'em all for this cause to be overthrown; whereunto he answer'd, that he wou'd put it to a venter, and that God shou'd be Judge thereof; and so giving Battel was Slain himself, and all his Army overthrown; whereupon also follow'd the Conquest of his Country. And thô the said Conquest might seem to be a punishment of God upon the whole Kingdom, for the sins of the people, as I have already declar'd, (a) yet the particular disgrace which happen'd to King *Harolds* Person, may well be

(a) Tom. 1, Chap. 21, Nu. 21, 22, & 23.

thought

thought to have proceeded from God's just judgment for his perjury; which the English Historians who Writ in that Age, or near that time, do signify; (a) as *Ingulphus*, *William of Malmesbury*, *Henry Huntindon*, *Matthew of Westmünster*, *Matthew Paris*, and *Roger Hovedon*, who speaking of that Victory, says, *Vere & absque dubio Dei judicio abscribenda est, qui puniendo scelus perjurij, ostendit se Deum nolentem iniquitatem*; Truly and without doubt 'tis to be ascrib'd to the judgment of God, who punishing the Crime of perjury, shew'd that he is a God who do's not allow of iniquity.

44. But to come nearer to our time, *Philip de Comines* notes (b) the manifest Justice of God, in the disgraceful Death of *Charles* late Duke of *Burgundy*, throu' the Treason of *Campobachio* an Italian, soon after the said *Charles* had betray'd the Count *Saint Paul*, and sent him Prisoner to *Lewis* the XI. King of *France*, notwithstanding he had given him a Pass to come into his Country.

45. Moreover, I cannot omit *Cæsar Borgia*, thô I have spoken of him divers times before. For as *Machiavel* truly makes him a Mirror for his Tyranny, in respect of his many Vices; so he may truly be propos'd for an Example of God's Justice, in respect of the many Judgments that God divers ways inflicted upon him; and particularly in the punishment of his perfidiousness and perjury; whereby he deceiv'd and ruin'd

(a) *Ingulphus Hist. Angl. Hen. Hunt. Hist. li. 6.*
Gul. Malmesb. lib. 3. Roger Hoved. Annal. par. 1.

(b) *Philip, de Comines. Chron. du Roy Louis ea 8, 9 et 11.*

divers principal persons, (a) as *Liverotto*, *Vitellozzo*, *Pagolo Visino*, and the Duke of *Gravina* whom he caus'd to be Strangl'd, after they had rendr'd themselves unto him upon composition, and employ'd themselves faithfully in his Service wherein God's Justice upon *Liverotto* may be noted who a little before, had cruelly and traiterously Murder'd his own Uncle, and divers other principal Citizens of *Fermo*, having invited 'em to Banket in his own House: Which perfidious treachery of his, God punish'd as it seem'd, by the treachery, and perfidiousness of *Cæsar Borgia*. (b) who also receiv'd the like measure himself of others, soon after; for whereas he had taken the Oaths of forty principal persons to assist him after his Fathers Death, he was forsaken by them all, and afterwards putting himself into the hand of *Hernando Gonzales* Governor of *Naples*, upon his promise to protect him, he was also betray'd by him, and sent Prisoner into *Spain*, as I have signifi'd elsewhere. (c)

46. The like Justice of God may be noted also in *Christiern* King of Denmark, and *Norway* who Marry'd a Sister of the Emperor *Charles the V.* in the time of *Henry the VIII.* King of *England*. (d) This *Christiern* besieging *Stockholm* in *Suecia* took it by composition, binding himself to certain conditions, not only by Oath, but also by receiving the Blessed Sacrament, which conditions he observ'd for some days, till he had the

(a) *Guicciard.* li. 5. (b) *Ibid.* (c) *Tom. 1. Chap. 3. Nu. 4.* (d) *Surius anno 2617.*

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Castle, and all the strongest places of the Town in his own hands, (a) and that he had furnish'd 'em with Men, and Ammunition; and then inviting all the Noble Men, and Magistrates to a Banket, to the number of ninty four, he imprison'd 'em, and after kill'd 'em, with a great number of the Citizens; and finding that many escap'd by hiding themselves, he promis'd by Proclamation, Life and Liberty to all those, which were left alive, whereupon they all discover'd themselves, and were all of 'em miserably Slain. And within a while after he was driven out of his Kingdom by his own Subjects; and when he had wander'd from Country to Country, in all Poverty and Misery, for the space of ten years, he was receiv'd again by some of the chiefest of his Nobility, who thô they promis'd him obedience and assistance under their Hands and Seals, nevertheless they took him Prisoner upon his Entrance, and within a while poyson'd him in Prison; whereby his perfidious falsehood was justly repay'd in the same kind; after whose deposition and Death, his Uncle *Frederick* a Worthy Prince, was chosen King of Denmark, of whom Queen *Ann*, Wife to King *James* the I, Lineally Descended.

47. About the same time also, the Duke of *Burbon* (b) being fled from *Francis* the I, King of *France*, to the Service of the Emperor *Charles* the V, who made by him Governor of *Milan*, so

(a) *Olaus Mag.* li. 8. ca. 39. (b) *Munster.*
Geograph. li. 3. *Martin du Bellay anno 1527.*

exasperated

exasperated the people by his exactions and cruelty, that they rose up against him; who to pacifie 'em, bound himself by Oath to certain conditions, praying also to God, that in case he did not exactly perform 'em, he might be kill'd with a Bullet in the first occasion of War that shou'd be offer'd; nevertheless, he fell afterwards again to his former course, without regard of his Oath, and being within a while after, made General of the Emperors Army in *Italy*, he was tumultuously carry'd by the Soldiers against his Will to the Siege of *Rome*, (a) where he was presently Slain with a piece of Artillery of his own, negligently discharg'd by his Soldiers, and so he pay'd the penalty of his perjury, according to the Judgment and Sentence he had Prophetically given against himself. To conclude, to these may be added *Henry the III*, King of *France*, (b) on whom Almighty God wonderfully extended his Justice in this kind, as I have particularly declar'd in this Chapter upon another occasion, and therefore shall not need to repeat it here.

48. Wherefore, I wish all *Machiavillians* wou'd consider three things, which are made evident by these examples. First, how detestable perfidiousness and perjury is in the sight of God; Secondly, how dangerous also 'tis to Princes, in regard of God's wrath, which throu' the severity of God's Justice will fall upon 'em, and their States for the same; against which no human wit, or power is able

(a) *Paulus Lovius de expug. urbis Romæ.*

(b) *Supra Nu. 9.*

to defend 'em; Thirdly, that all *Machiavillian* remedies, consisting as I sayd before, partly in human prudence and diligence, and partly in force, and strength of Guards, Garisons, Fortresses, and such like, are most frivolous and vain, when God is offended, and will punish for sin; whereupon it follows, that the foresaid remedies are in like manner insufficient to protect a perfidious Prince from the danger of human punishment, which is commonly but a sequel and effect of the just Judgments of God, in whose hand are the Hearts and Wills of all Men, and who uses the same as his Instruments to execute his Justice upon Princes when they deserve it; as I have before signifi'd, (a) and purpose to declare more fully hereafter in the Seventh Chapter.

49. Besides, 'tis evident enough in true reason of State, that thô there were no danger at all of God's wrath, yet these and such other *Machiavillian* Policies, are not only insufficient to prevent or remedy the inconveniences which wicked Princes incur by the hatred of Men, but also many times encrease their dangers, and help to precipitate 'em into their utter ruin and destruction; whereof I forbear to treat more particularly here, partly because 'twould require a longer Discourse than is convenient for this place, and partly because I shall have a sufficient occasion to speak thereof at large in the Fourth Chapter, where I will examine certain principles of *Machiavel's* Doctrin, and shew the vanity thereof, for the better instruction

of a young States-man. And in the mean time this shall suffice, for what concerns the vertue of fidelity in a Prince ; with this conclusion , that because the danger that Princes incur by fraud and deceit , proceeds principally from the just Judgments of God , as I have fully declar'd ; therefore the young States-man and Counsellor whom I inform , ought to understand what concerns this vertue of fidelity , as well as all other vertues ; that the reputation , which he is to desire and procure in his Prince , must be grounded , not upon vain shew's and appearances of counterfeit vertue , which God in Justice will discover , and punish sooner or later , but upon the solid foundation of sincirity and truth , which is the surest pillar and stay , of all human actions , and most grateful both to God and Man ; and therefore the Wise Man says , (a) He who walks simply , and plainly , walks boldly and surely ; And he who runs an indirect course , shall be discover'd .

50. It requires now , that I say somewhat tho very briefly , of the reputation of a Princes power and greatness , the loss and decay whereof emboldens his Enemies , discourages his friends , and exposes his person to the contempt of all Men , and his State to infinite dangers . For as the reputation of a Princes greatness , wealth , and power , strikes a terror and fear into the hearts as well of his Subjects , as of Strangers , and with-holds 'em from Conspiring against him : So also

(a) Proverb. cap. 10. 9.

the opinion of his weakness, works the contrary effect, and is the very Mother, and Nurse of Rebellions, Conspiracies, and all Hostile attempts; and no Man knows how small an attempt may overthrow the greatest State in the World; seeing it depends only upon the success, which no Man can warrant; and many times is such, that it deceives all Mens expectation; and therefore the surest and wisest way is, to use all preventions, that nothing be attempted against the State.

51. To which purpose the reputation of a Prince's power, force, and greatness helps very much; which *Augustus Cæsar* knew so well, that having lost an Army in *Germany* of forty thousand Men, yet he continu'd the War for no other necessity or reason as *Tacitus* notes, (a) than to maintain the opinion and reputation of his power; lest otherwise he might grow to be contemn'd as the great *Xerxes* was, who having terrif'd all *Greece* with his great Army of a Million of Men, was upon his overthrow and return into *Persia* so dispis'd, that he was kill'd by one of his own Subjects. So dangerous 'tis for a Prince, how great soever he is, to loose his reputation: Wherefore I conclude, that it imports a Wise Counsellor to measure and weigh all the commodity and benefit of his Prince, as well with his Reputation, as with his Conscience, thô not in a like degree.

52. For thô Reputation be the chief external good of Man, as I have before signifi'd, yet 'tis

(a) *Tacit.* li. 1. *annal.* *Justin.* li.

inferior

inferior to the internal, which consists in the goods both
of the mind, whereof a pure Conscience is the chief; because therein consists the chief felicity of Man in this Life, as Saint Ambrose says: (a) Besides, the benefit which redounds to Princes from the purity of Conscience, is the favor and protection of Almighty God to them and their States in this World, and also an Eternal Reward and Salvation of their Souls in the next; and the damage that ensues from a corrupt and sinful Conscience, is God's indignation in this Life, whereby the greatest Monarchs and their Monarchies have perish'd; and Everlasting Damnation in the World to come: Whereas on the other side, all the benefit or damage, that the gain or loss of Reputation can yield, being consider'd in itself, extends no farther, than to the favor or disfavor of Men; who can neither uphold whom God overthrows, nor overthrow whom God protects; for as the Apostle says, (b) *If God be with us, 'tis no matter who's against us.*

53. Whereupon it follows, that whether we regard the dignity and benefit of Conscience and Reputation, or else the damage that ensues from the blemish of either of 'em; the respect of Conscience is far to be preferr'd before the other, and the loss of Reputation is then principally to be fear'd, when Conscience is also stain'd; for then the Prince lying open to the contempt and hatred, as well of God as Man, has no defence, but may well fear and expect punishment from

(a) *Ambrose l. 1, de Offi. c. 12.*

(b) *Rom. 8. 31.*

both;

ood both; and the rather, because the loss and want
of Reputation, is one special means whereby
ty of God is us'd to execute his just Judgment on

Be wicked Princes; it being most consonant to justice
from and reason, that those who contemn and disobey
their Sovereign Lord, King, and Creator, shou'd
be ruin'd by the contempt, hatred and disobedience
and of their own Subjects; which danger is
the justly to be fear'd, when both Reputation and
Conscience are stain'd.

54. But when Conscience is pure and entire,
the loss of Reputation is nothing so dangerous;
for thô the most just and best Men, are sometimes
so calumniated, that they incur infamy and
disgrace, throu' the practice of the wicked; yet for
as much as the same has no ground at all, it
vanishes away like smoke, and is ever throu'
God's Justice, discover'd and clear'd in the end,
to their greater reputation and honor; and in the
mean time they have the comfort, not only of
God's protection, as I have sayd, but also of
their own Consciences; the good testimony
whereof gives in such cases an inestimable consola-
tion, and therefore the Apostle says, (*a*) *The
Testimony of our Conscience is our glory.* In which
respect Wise and Virtuous Princes, thô they always have due care of their reputation, yet do
not so much regard false rumors, when their Con-
science is clear, as to forbear the execution of
any good and necessary design, for fear thereof,
but follow the example of the Wise and Valiant

(a) 2 Cor. cap. 1. ver. 22.

Consul Fabius Maximus; (a) *Qui non ponebat rumores ante salutem: VVho preferr'd not rumors before the good of the Common-wealth.* For thô his delays against *Hannibal* were throu' the malice of his Enemies much caluminated and generally condemn'd, by the common people, as proceeding out of cowardize; yet he was nothing mov'd thereby, thinking it, as he sayd, a greater cowardize to leave a good purpose for fear of Mens Tongues, than to leave the Field for fear of an Enemy. In which respect he continu'd his course, till he had thereby wasted and consum'd the Forces of *Hannibal*, with security to the *Roma* State, for which, he was afterwards highly commended, because, as *Ennius* says, (b) *Cunctando restituit rem. He repair'd and restor'd the State of the Romans by delays.*

55. Nevertheless in such cases also, all diligence is to be us'd by Princes and their Counsellors, to take away the scandal, that may follow the Erroneous conceit of their actions, thô their Consciences be never so clear; whereupon Saint *Austin* says, (c) *That he who trusting to his Conscience, neglects his Fame or good Name, is cruel.* Whereof he gives this reason, *Because*, says he, *he kills the Souls of others*; for thô he do's not the evil that is suppos'd, yet the very supposition thereof, serves for a stumbling-block to overthrow such, as are weak and ill dispos'd; and therefore Saint *Austin* also says, (d) *That Con-*

(a) *Plut. in Pablo. Cicero li. 1. Officio.* (b) *Ennius apud Ceron li. 1. de Offic.* (c) *Aug. Ser. 49. ca. 1. & de bono viduitatis ca. 21.* (d) *Aug. Ibid.*

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Science and fame being two things, the one of 'em is necessary for us, and the other for our Neighbour, and that he, who keeps his Conscience clear, do's good to himself, but he who preserves his fame, do's good to others.

56. For this cause also, *Plato* requires, (a) in every good and virtuous Man, that he takes special care to leave behind him an everlasting reputation and fame of his vertues, thereby to stir up not only Men of his time, but also all Posterity to the imitation thereof; the which is most necessary in publick persons, and especially in Princes; because their example incites to vertue or vice much more, than the example of private Men; and therefore not only reason of State, but Conscience also binds em to be most careful of their reputation and good name, and not to permit the least blemish therein, thô it be never so unjust, if it can be conveniently remedy'd; but when it cannot be help'd without some greater detriment to themselves, or to the Common-wealth, then 'tis to be tolerated and borne with patience; for both Reason and Conscience require, that the publick and common good be preferr'd before any Mans particular benefit; and that of two inconveniences the less is to be chosen, whereof Conscience is to be Judge.

57. Wherefore I conclude, that whereas Commodity, Conscience, and Reputation, are to be respected in all deliberations concerning Princes affairs, Conscience ought always to predominate,

(a) *Plut. ep. ad. Dionysium. 2.*

and to serve for the Touch stone and Rule, a well of Reputation, as of all Temporal Commodities ; and therein a Counsellor will well discharge his Duty, if in all his Consultations he holds the known axiom of Cicero for his ground, he
 (a) *Nihil est utile quod non sit honestum.* Nothing is profitable which is not honest ; which point Cicero discourses and teaches very well in his Offices.

C H A P. IV.

What a Counsellor is to consider in the matters which are to be Consulted.

AND now to come to the last point of my division, which is to shew what a Counsellor is to regard in the matter to be consulted; 'tis to be understood that thô the affairs of State are infinite, and therefore cannot be sufficiently reduc'd to particular Rules; yet some things are generally to be consider'd in all matters whatsoever, whereof I will here touch some that at present occur to me.

2. First, for a necessary preamble, or preparative to all deliberations in matters of State, 'tis to be consider'd, that in respect of the connexion

(a) *Cicero de Offic. lib. 1.*

which

which particular affairs of State, either have, or
may have with the general State of Forraign
Princes, 'tis convenient and necessary for a Coun-
sellor to have been a Traveller, or otherwise, that
he by all means procure, an exact knowledge and
understanding, not only of his own Princes State
and affairs, but also of the Estates and affairs of
other Princes, especially of such as are Neigh-
bours, Enemies, or Confederates of his own
Prince.

3. For this end two things are requisite, that
he be affable and courteous towards all Men,
willing to hear, and confer with 'em, especially
strangers; because by them he may learn very
many things, of the State of Forraign Princes
and Countries. For as the Spanish Proverb says;

*Mas sabe el necio en su casa, que el cuerdo en la
agenda; A fool knows more in his own House, than
a wise Man do's in another Mans.* And thô a
Counsellor may perhaps by this facility, be many
times troubl'd with impertinent matters; yet he
shall withal understand many things, which may
import him to know, and there is no Man so
wise but he may sometimes hear of a simple Man,
somewhat that may serve to very good purpose;
and therefore the trouble in this case is to be
borne with patience, in respect of the benefit he
may reap thereby.

4. The other thing necessary for a Counsellors
better information, is to procure frequent advices,
and intelligence by Letters from all parts, of the
State, Humors, and Dispositions of Forraign
Princes; of all changes and innovations in their

Courts and Countries ; of their Marriages and Alliances, as also of their Children, and most powerful Subjects ; of Embassies to and fro, and their Treaties ; of provisions and preparations for War, by Sea and Land, and their intentions therein ; of all Taxes and Impositions laid upon the people, or other levies of Money ; of the divisions and discontents that happen amongst the Nobility, or common people ; and finally, of all other matters that may tend either to the establishment and strengthning, or to the innovation or weakning of other Princes States. For thô a Counsellor by this means hear's many untruths ; yet he shall very often receive advice of important matters, whereof he may make good use and benefit ; and being a Man of Judgment, and keeping correspondence with divers, he may easily discern truths from falsehoods, by conserning their advices together, especially if he takes order that his correspondents know not of one another. Finally, he will by this means, not only Judge better, and more clearly of all matters that may concur to his Princes Service ; but will also make himself much more grateful to his Prince, by his diligence ; and become more intimate with him, by occasion of his frequent advices of Forraign News , which Princes are always most desirous to hear.

5. Secondly, a Counsellor is to consider, that in all matters of Counsel, three things are specially to be regarded; as Saint Thomas, (a) following

(a) S. Tho. 22. q. 5; Arist. li. 6, Ethic

Aristotle, do's note: The first, is a due end; the second, a convenient means; and the third, a fit time and season: That is, that the end and means be not only lawful, just, and honorable in themselves, and in their own natures, but also convenient, and proportionable as well one to another, as also to the Person, State, and Power of the Prince; for if there be any inconveniency, or disproportion in any of these, I mean if the means be not convenient for the obtaining of the end, or if the end or means be impossible, or above the reach and power of the Prince; or base, and any way unfit for his State and Person; or if the Counsel be giv'n out of due time and season, especially too late; it looses all its force and esteem, and cannot be accounted either good or prudent.

6. To this purpose I say, that according to Plato's Rule, (a) he, who is to give his opinion of any matter whatsoever, ought first fully to understand and know the State of the question, with all the circumstances thereof. For Mans Judgment is grounded upon his knowledge, and guided thereby; and some one little circumstance unknown, may wholly alter the case, and cause great error in the resolution, insomuch that a simple Man who knows more of a matter, may judge more wisely thereof, than a far wiser Man that knows less: And the reason why wise Men do not always judge with like wisdom and prudence in all causes, is commonly, because they do not understand 'em alike.

(a) Plato in Phedro.

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7. But

7. But to proceed, the substance and circumstances of the matter being once fully known to the Counsellor, he is then to pass to the consideration of the inconveniences, difficulties, dangers, discommodities and commodities thereof, which may afford different arguments, *pro & con*, in the discussion and decision, whereby the prudence of a Counsellor is especially discover'd.

8. And here I note by the way, thô perhaps I may seem somewhat to digress from the matter that some Men who have great vivacity and sharpness of wit, to find out inconveniences, to foresee dangers, and to propound objections, doubts and difficulties, have not maturity of Judgment, clear and decide 'em, or to find out remedies and others who are more mature and sound in Judgment, are less sharp of wit: And again that some who are of good capacity, have so little courage, that they are dismay'd with every difficulty, and therefore cannot easily resolve upon any thing; whereas others of less capacity, and more courage, resolve far more easily, and far better in any occasion; so that we may say with the Poët; *Non omnia possumus omnes; VVe cam all deal all things.* And therefore Philip de Comines observes very well, (a) that 'tis convenient for Princes to have many Counsellors, to the end that one may supply the defects of another; *Et the wifest, says he, do often Err, either throu' passion or throu' hatred or affection, or throu' the indisposition of their persons, especially after Dinner;* and if says he, think that such ought not to be made Counsellors.

(a) *Phil. de Com. Cron. du Roy. Louis ca. 27.*

sellors, it may be answer'd, that we are all Men, and that whosoever will have none to be of a Princes Council, that Err at any time in Speech or Opinion, or are at other times mov'd and led with passion or affection, he must seek 'em in Heaven, for in Earth, none such are to be found. Thus says this grave and wise Counsellor; which I note here by the way, to the end that young Counsellors may learn, neither to rely too much upon their own opinion, nor rashly to condemn their fellow Counsellors, if they Err and be sometimes deceiv'd.

9. And to prosecute this digression yet a little farther, I also add, that 'tis necessary for a Prince to have his Council compos'd like Man's Body, that is to say, of Men of different complexions and humors, to the end that the Cholerick heat and hasty fervor of some, may be temper'd with the Flegmatick coldness, and slow resolution of others; and that the vivacity of some Men's Sanguine Spirits, and Elevated Wits, may be somewhat kept down and counterpois'd with the maturity of other Melancholly Judgments, which Aristotle holds (a) to be soundest in matters of State, whereby the whole Body of the Council may be reduc'd to a perfect temper; so that the predominant quality therein, be sound Judgment in most, or in some at least; which may help to correct the peccant and offensive humors of the rest, and restrain the superfluity of overflowing conceits, clear doubts and difficulties, and satisfie objections, which proceed many times from them, who are not able to resolve 'em, and serve to

(a) Arist. problem. Sect. 30. quæst. 1.

great purpose in Councils, to whet the Wits and open the Understanding of Men of Judgment. This I have thought good to touch by the way, that the young Counsellor whom I advise, may understand somewhat as well the nature of a Council, as of the Office and Duty of a Counsellor.

10. But now to return to the consideration of matters to be consulted, 'tis requisite that a Counsellor prudently weighs, and compares the incommodities with the commodities; the inconveniences with the remedies; the difficulties and dangers, with the possibilities, and probability to overcome 'em; and not to reject a very commodious and honorable design because 'tis costly, or some way inconvenient, difficult or dangerous; for as the Proverb says, *Omnis commoditas fert incommoda secum; There is no commodity without an incommmodity:* As also, *Difficilia quæ pulchra;* Things that are honorable, are also difficult; and therefore 'tis to be foreseen, and provided that the commodities overweighs the damages; that the gain quits the cost; that every inconvenience has some way facilitated; that every important danger may be probably either escap'd or prevented; that of commodities which cannot be had together, the greater be chosen; and of inconveniences, when all cannot be avoided, the least be admitted; all which being foreseen, and probably provided for, any important action whatsoever, may be determin'd, counsell'd, and undertaken; notwithstanding that some difficulties, and dangers may be

be incident thereunto. For he that will not take pains to crack the Nut, cannot eat the Kernel, and he that will not hazard any thing, will gain nothing; *For nothing venture, says the Proverb, nothing have.*

11. Yet this is to be understood, that the danger must not be over great; which may partly be provided for, if it be foreseen; as also, that the greatest danger rather concerns some circumstance of the matter, than the principal part, or the whole body of the plot; and that the benefit expected, far exceeds the loss or detriment which may be fear'd: Otherwise no certain thing of moment must be left, or adventur'd for a thing uncertain since as the Proverb says, (*a*) *A Bird in the hand is worth two in the bush*, and in doubtful matters which cannot fully be resolv'd, the less doubtful or more assur'd are to be preferr'd; and finally the hope of benefit must be grounded upon probable reason, and sufficient means to compass the same, and not upon chance; which is so uncertain that no Man can safely build any important matter thereupon. And therefor *Tiberius Cæsar* held it for a great Maxim of State, as *Tacitus* witnesseth. *Non omittere caput rerum, neque se in casum dare;* *Neither to let slip the first opportunities, nor to adventure himself or his affairs upon chance,* that is, not to hazard himself or his Estate in any enterprise, when he had not a sufficient probability of good success.

12. For thô the event of all Plots that are put in execution, is casual, depending upon the

(*a*) *Tacit. Annal.*

Will

Will of God, as I have before amply declar'd, yet 'tis a Wise Mans part to do that which lies in him, to assure it, by all probable and convenient means, and then to leave the rest to God's disposition; for otherwise he shou'd tempt God and offend him by his negligence; as I have before signifi'd; (*a*) wherefofe without this probability of assurance, no matter of importance ought to be attempted by any Wise Man, except in desperate cases, when the necessity and exigence is so great and sudden, as sometimes it falls out to be, that there is no time or place for discourse; for then there is no remedy, but to trust only to God and a Man's good fortune; which falls out many times better than according to human prudence cou'd be expected or imagin'd; as it did to *Julius Cæsar*, (*b*) who finding himself unable to give Battle to *Pompey*, because his Forces were not arriv'd, and being in the mean time constrain'd to disguise himself, and go to Sea in a little Fregat, in such stormy weather and rough Seas, that the Pilot wou'd not venture out, discover'd himself unto him, bidding him set Sail and fear nothing, because he carry'd *Cæsar* and his fortune; which succeeded well, for thereby he escap'd at that time, and afterwards overthrew *Pompey*, and became Emperor of the World; but this he did because he had no other remedy, thinking it better rather to expose himself to the mercy of the Sea, than of his Enemy.

13. And in such desperate and sudden exigences when there's no time and place for Wisdom or

(*a*) Tom. 2. Chap. 1. Num. 6. (*b*) Plut. in *Julio Cæsare*.

Discourse,

Discourse, the Counsel of some simple Idiot may be better than of the Wisest Man; for as *Aristotle* says, some such being by the Providence of God born fortunate, and following the impulse and motion of Nature, may advise or execute more happily than Men of great Wisdom, who pondering all things in the ballance of reason and discourse, do not follow many times a fortunate motion in themselves, or the happy Counsel of others, because they see not some good and reasonable ground for the same, whereby they neglect and loose their good fortune. And to this purpose *Aristotle* alledges the old Proverb; *Fortuna favet fatuis*; *Fortune favors Fools*, as I have before signifi'd, where I have spoken of this Point.

14. Hereupon I conclude two things; the one that except in case of necessity, a Wise Man ought to leave nothing to chance, that may be any way assur'd by reasonable means, because of the danger that may thereby ensue; for tho' dangerous Counsels grounded upon hope of good fortune, speed well sometimes by meer chance, yet they prove most commonly pernicious, and therefore the Wise Man says well; (a) *He who loves danger shall perish in it.*

15. The other conclusion is, that seeing Men are many times put to such sudden extremities, that they have no time or opportunity to take advice, or sufficiently to consult with others, 'tis most necessary, that they provide and arm themselves against the same by frequent Prayer, and

(a) Eccli. cap. 3. Ver. 27.

by a daily recommendation of all their actions to Almighty God, the Author and giver of all good success, to the end that he may in such cases, guide, protect and prosper 'em; as I before have sufficiently declar'd, (a) and cannot repeat too often, because I esteem it to be the best advice that any Counsellor can give to his Prince.

16. The third shall be to ponder and examen diligently, not only the present state of the matter, and the immediate or next sequels thereof, but also what may be like to succeed from time to time, and especially what may be the conclusion or upshot of the whole; for many times it falls out, that designs prosper and succeed well for a while, and yet overthrow the Authors and tempters in the end; not so much by fortune or chance, as by oversight of the Counsellor or contriver thereof, who being deceiv'd with the appearance or hope, of some present or near commodity, foresees not, or else neglects to avoid some future and final disgrace: Much like to the sick Man, who following his own appetite, Eates or Drinks something which refreshes and contents him for the present, but augments his Disease and kills him in the end. In this Point all wicked and *Machiavilian* Counsels fail for the most part, which often succeed well for a time throu' God's permission, for secret causes known to his Divine Wisdom, but in the end both destroy Princes and their States, partly throu' the Justice of Almighty God, and partly by Error of the Coun-

(a) *Tom. 2. Cap. 1. Num. 8.*

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sellors in true reasons of State, as I hope amply, and substantially to prove hereafter. (a)

17. In the mean time I add for the present a fourth consideration to the same purpose, which is, that a Wise Counsellor ought to weigh the commodity of every thing with the stability and security thereof; and not to advise his Prince to purchase with a few years of present pleasure, or benefit, many years of future pain or inconvenience; but rather to endure some disadvantage or damage for a time, when thereby he may afterwards attain to some stable and permanent good; which nature teaches us by the course it takes in human and worldly affairs, ordaining motion, for rest; busines, for repose; labor, for ease; and pain, for pleasure. In which respect a Wise Man labors when he is Young, to rest in his Old Age, and takes a loathsome potion or bitter Pill, to recover health; and willingly endures all Temporal Misery, to attain in the end to Eternal Felicity. This I say not only Nature, but also true Wisdom, which always follows the course and steps thereof do's teach us, no less in matters of State, than in all other human affairs.

18. Wherefore for the same reason, a Counsellor ought also to prefer a certain and lasting commodity, thô it be less, before a greater that is short and uncertain; to which purpose *Theopom-pus* King of *Lacedaemon*, answer'd the Queen his Wife very well, (b) when she lamented that he wou'd leave less Royal Authority to his Children,

(a) Tom. 2. Cap. 6. 7. (b) *Plutarch* in his Treatise whether a Prince ought to be Learned.

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than he had receiv'd of his Father, because he had ordain'd certain Controllers of the Kings call'd *Ephori*: No, says he, *I shall leave it 'em greater because 'twill be more firm and secure*; thus he answer'd very Wisely, measuring the benefit of Principality Authority, not so much by greatness, as by security and stability, whereunto all the Counsels and Endeavours of Wise Counsellors and Statesmen ought chiefly to tend; yet with this consideration, that thô of Worldly things some are more stable and permanent than others, yet there is no true stability in any of 'em, and therefore all Wise Men's Counsels, are chiefly directed to the attaining of Heavenly things, in which there is true stability, they being everlasting; whereof I shall say more hereafter. (a)

19. Now forasmuch as sufficient Rules cannot be giv'n in particular concerning State affairs, because they are infinite and variable, and by reason of the infinite occasions and accidents that fall out daily to be consider'd, all which may require different considerations, according to the different nature and quality of the matters, and the sundry circumstances of times, places and persons, I have therefore thought good for example sake, and the instruction of young States-men, to handle and debate here, some one matter of State by way of discourse. And because occasion is offer'd often-times to deliberate about the maintenance of a Civil War in a Forraign Country, I will set down my own opinion, what advice a young States-man may safely give concerning the same.

(a) Tom. 2, Cap. 9, Num. 27, &c.

C H A P. V.

For the better and more particular instruction of a Young Counsellor, concerning matters to be Consulted: The Question or matter of State is debated, and taken into a deliberation, about the maintenance of a Civil War in a Forraign Country.

VV Hosoever shou'd give advice concerning the maintenance of a Civil War in a Forraign Country, 'twould be convenient for him, in my opinion, chiefly to consider these following points.

2. First, the equity and justice of the cause, as well of his Princes part, whether it may be just and lawful for him to give the assistance demanded, as also whether the quarrel of those who demand the same, be lawful and just, or no? For if justice and equity be wanting in either, no commodity that a Prince can receive or expect, can countervail the dishonor, danger, and damage, which he will assuredly incur by the offence of Almighty God; (a) Who takes away the Life of Princes, and is terrible to the King's of the Earth; And will assuredly sooner or later exact of him a

(a) Psal. 75. 13.

severe

severe account thereof, or perhaps of his State, or of both; which is the chief and highest point to be consider'd in all deliberations of Princes, seeing the destruction and utter ruin of them and their Estates, proceeds chiefly from the offence of God; as I have partly made evident already, (a) in when I treated of the Justice of God, and will make more manifest hereafter. (b)

3. 'Tis also to be consider'd what good and just Motives his Prince may have on his own part, to give the succours demanded, which may be reduc'd to four cases. The first, when he may do thereby some notable service to God, which is always in it self not only honorable, but also as profitable; and as it were, Mony put to interest in respect of the reward, he shall receive assuredly at God's hands for the same, howsoever it succeeds for the present.

4. The second case is, when he is bound by Oath, Promise, or Gratitude, to succour the party that crav's his assistance: For in such a case the omission thereof, when it may justly and conveniently be done, were both offensive to God, and also dishonorable, and dangerous to a Prince, well in respect of God's punishment of his perjury, whereof I have before spoken at large, (c) also for the bad example and just occasion he never wou'd give to others, his Allies, and Confederates, yea, and to his own Subjects to forsake him in his necessity.

(a) Tom. 1. Cap. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. &c.

(b) Tom. 2. Cap. 7. (c) Tom. 2. Cap. 3. Num. 17. 18. &c.

state, 5. The third case is, when the Prince, of whom
 point succour is demanded, has a just pretence to a
 ces, Forraign Crown or State; for the obtaining where-
 and of, he may hope to gain a party, by maintaining
 ce of a just quarrel in the same State or Country; where-
 (4) in, respect is to be had, whether the Prince's own
 will Forces be so sufficient for the execution of his
 enterprise, that he shall need to rely no farther
 upon his party, than only to facilitate the same;
 rt, to for if his hope of good success, either in obtaining
 e re his pretence, or in conserving or maintaining of
 y do it afterwards, chiefly depends upon the good Will,
 ch in Fidelity, and Strength of such a party, he Builds,
 also as a Man may say, upon the Sand, and puts to
 ereft a venture his labor, charges, and reputation.

6. Hereof we have had a lamentable example not
 many years since in *Sebastian King of Portugal*, (a)
 who hop'd to make himself King of *Morocco*, un-
 der colour of restoring thereunto *Muley Mahomet*;
 whereof he made so sure an account, that he carry'd a
 Crown with him to Crown himself King there;
 not considering that his adversary *Muley Moluco*,
 who was then in Possession of that Kingdom, was
 not only most Valiant for his Person, but also
 perable to bring into the Field for his defence, above a
 hundred thousand Horse and Foot; against whom
 nevertheless King *Sebastian* undertook the enter-
 prise, with an Army only of three thousand Soldiers,
 him or thereabouts; the most part of 'em undisciplin'd:
 Besides that neither he himself, nor any that

(a) *Hiron. Conest.gio del unio de lib. reg. di.
 Portugalo lib. 2.*

Commanded the Army under him, had ever borne
Arms before; insomuch, that he trusted, as it
seem'd, to the Conduct and Forces of *Muley Mahomet*,
his Confederate, who when it came to the up-sho
was not able to bring to the Field two thousand
so that adventuring with so few, to fight with
above forty thousand Horse, and ten thousand
Foot, and as some say a far greater number; his
Army was presently inclos'd on all sides, and
opprest by the multitude of his Enemies, that he lost
both the Battel and his Life. So dangerous a thin
it is, for a Prince to ground any design of a Foot to
raign War, upon a false conceit, either of the weakne
of an Enemy, or of the strength of a Confederat
and not upon sufficient forces of his own. but

7. The fourth case is, that when to avoid som
eminent danger of Invasion or War at home, or
some other great vexation; a Prince is forc'd to
hold his Enemy employ'd in his own Country resp
by supporting there a just quarrel against him whe
Wherein tho' he may spend largly without fear of
lots, in respect of the present security which he
purchases; and exemption from greater expens
and danger at home: Nevertheless 'twill be Wages
dom for him in my opinion to practise the Coun
sel, which *Alcibiades* the *Athenian* gave to *Tisferm* and
in the like case; which was, not to give great
succour than may suffice to keep the War still
on foot, as well to gain time, which often rem
dies the greatest inconveniences, as also to ext
nuate and weary out both parties; in such sort, th
whether the War end by Victory or Composition
they may not be able to assaile him; which b
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bon may very well fear, thô the party he assists as shou'd prevail.

8. For this purpose 'tis to be consider'd, that
Civil dissensions, end many times to the cost of
the Forraign Prince, who maintain'd the same ;
whether they end by Victory of his Enemy, or of
his Confederate, or else by their composition ; for
his Enemy if he overcomes remain's more irri-
tated, and more oblig'd to seek revenge than be-
fore ; and his Confederate if he vanquishes the o-
ther, and succeeds him in his State, is more like
to prove an Enemy than a Friend ; especially, if the
quarrel of the other was not personal, proceed-
ing from some particular injury done to him,

but, as commonly it happens, a quarrel of State ;
so for in that case, whosoever shall be Governor of
the same State, will be his Enemy, notwithstanding
any benefit receiv'd, for experience teaches that the
respect of gratitude for past benefits, little avail's,
him when it meets with reasons of State ; which, as Guic-
ciard says, (a) *With Princes, overweighs all other*
considerations, and so differs according to the variety
of occasions and success of affairs, that it chan-
ges daily ; and of a Friend to Day, mak's an E-
nemy to Morrow : In which respect, the Leagues
and Amities of Princes, are commonly very uncer-
tain and unsecure, be the obligation never so
great.

9. Henry the VII King of England, became an
Enemy to Charles the VIII King of France, in de-
fense of the Duke of Britany, for reasons of State,

(a) *Guicciard, nadi suifi poit.*

(a) thô the said Charles did a little before assist him with Men and Mony against King Richard the III, and help'd to make him King of England. And what greater benefit cou'd one Prince receive of another, than Elizabeth Queen of England receiv'd of Philip the II King of Spain, (b) who when he was King of England, and Marry'd to her Sister, sav'd her Life, which otherwise she had lost upon account of her Conspiracy against her said Sister; yet nevertheless she became the greatest Enemy he had, and continu'd so during his Life.

10. Moreover, it commonly fall's out, that the party whom a Forraign Prince help's to advance remain's his debtor for the charges bestow'd in his succour; whereupon it follow's many times, that the creditor looses both his friend and his Mony, for if he trusts to bare promises of repayment he is in danger to be serv'd as Edward the Black Prince was, (c) who going in person with a great Army into Spain, to succour Peter King of Castile upon his promise to repay him all his expences was after the Victory so delay'd and deluded by him, that he was forc'd to return without any satisfaction; by means whereof he was constrain'd to lay such impositions upon his own Subjects in Aquitane, for the payment of his Soldiers, that the Rebell'd, whereby he lost the greatest part of that Country.

11. And put the case he shou'd have any places or Towns deliver'd him in consideration of his ex-

(a) Polid Virgil. hist. Angl. li. 26. (b) Sanctus li. 2. de Schism. Angl. (c) Polid. Virg. hist. Angl. lib. 19.

pences, or for his better security, which any Prince that shall give succours to Forraigners, has reason to require; many times his Friend for reasons of State becom's his Enemy, to recover the places, he before gave him: And so also it commonly fall's out that whensoever Civil Wars and dissensions come to an end, by composition of the parties divided, who for the most part willingly agree and joyn together, against the Forraigner that maintain'd their division, especially if he has any hold or footing in their Country, thô it were at the first with thir own consent: Whereof I will alledge a few examples as well Ancient as Modern.

12. In the Baron Wars in *England* in the time of King *John*, *Lewis* the VIII, Son to *Philip* the II King of *France*, assist'd the Barons against their King; and being call'd by them into *England*, and Proclam'd King thereof, was shortly after by common consent, as well of them as of all other *Englis*, driv'n out again. (a)

13. *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* also to be reveng'd of the Duke of *Orleans* and of *Charles* the VII. whilst he was yet but *Dolphin*, call'd *Henry* the V. King of *England* into *France*, and assist'd him first to make him Regent, and afterwards to Crown, not only him, but also *Henry* the VI his Son, King of *France* in *Paris*; yet in the end he made his Peace with King *Charles* aforesaid, and help'd him to deprive the *English* of all that, which either they had got by his means, or else held before by Title of Inheritance. (b)

(a) *Polidor Virgil hist Anglie li. 15. Paul. Emil. Philip. 2.* (b) *Pol. Virg. in Henr. 5. & 6.*

14. In like manner *Charles the VIII King of France* was most earnestly sollicitated to the Conquest of *Naples* by the *Neapolitans* themselves, (a) who nevertheless shortly after help'd to expel the Garrisons and Forces he left there, notwithstanding they had receiv'd great benefits from him.

15. *Elizabeth also Queen of England*, supported the Protestants in the first troubles of *France* against their King, with great charges, and expences; and when they made their Peace, in the Year of our Lord, 1562. they all joyn'd with the Catholicks against her, to recover *Havre de Grace*, which they had before giv'n her, for the assurance of the Mony, she had lent 'em.

16. And now lastly, notwithstanding the chargeable and costly succours of Men and Mony that the *French Catholicks* receiv'd of *Philip the II King of Spain*, of Glorious Memory, yet they forsook him almost all in the end, and joyn'd with his and their adverse party; and made War against him to recover from him some few Towns in the Frontiers of *Flanders*, which they had giv'n him before, for his and their security.

17. Wherefore, thô things do not always succeed in this manner; yet forasmuch as most commonly they do, and that nothing is more uncertain than that which depends upon the Will, Affection, or Gratitude of other Men; or upon reason of State, which, as I have sayd, do's change and vary daily, according to the variety of occasi-

(a) *Philip. Comis. in Carol. 8. ca. 2. & 39.*

ons, I hold it for a special point of prudence in a Prince, to take the surest way, by not engaging himself too far, nor adventuring more than he cares not to loose, in the maintenance of a Civil War in a Forraign Country; except when either the service of God, some just obligation, or the conservation of his own State, necessarily require it. Thus much concerning such points, as are to be weigh'd, in behalf of the Prince, that is to give the succour.

18. Moreover, great consideration is also to be had of the State and Condition of the parties that demand it; as whether they be able to overcome their adversaries? Or at least to stand and maintain their quarrel, with the assistance which they crave or may be giv'n them? For otherways 'twere great imprudence in any Prince, to undertake their maintenance, but rather to endeavour by way of Treaty betwixt 'em and their adversary, to compound the quarrel, and thereby to make himself grateful to both parties.

19. And forasmuch as it many times fall's out, that the ability and power of the party, that crav's assistance, consists not in the strength of some one Potent and Absolute Prince, but in the force of many Princes, Towns, or States, Confederated and Leagu'd together; 'tis in such a case chiefly to be consider'd, how, or upon what reasons the said party is united?

20. To this purpose 'tis to be noted, that in all Confederacies and Leagues, wherein many unite themselves, the Confederates are mov'd thereunto, either with one motive or end, as in

the *Cantons* of the *Switzers*; or in the League which the Pope, the King of the *Romans*, the King of *Spain*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan* made against *Charles the VIII King of France*, for the difference of *Italy*; (a) wherein all of 'em were interess'd. Or else they are mov'd thereunto, with divers and sundry motives, some with one, and some with another; as for example, in the late *French League or Union*, some enter'd only for the conservation of the Catholick Religion, which was the common and pretended end of all that party; others enter'd for particular respects, as either for passion, or ambition, or for the friendship of some Man on the one side, or hatred of some one on the other, or for hope of future gain, or for present profit and commodity, or such like motives.

21. Now then those that are led by particular respects, do not for the most part remain any longer in any League, then they may hope to obtain their desires, and when they are periuaded that they may sooner obtain the same by adhering to the adverse party, they are easily induc'd thereunto; and hereupon commonly follows the dissolution of such Leagues and Confederacies; for which cause the strength and power of any League, is not to be measur'd so much by the multitude of Confederates, be they never so great and powerful, as by their concurrence and agreement in one and the self same end: For as few Men under one head, are stronger than many

(a) *Philip de Com. Cron. du Roy Charles ca. 22.*
under

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under many and different heads, as *Philip de Comines*^s notes (a) very well, so few principal persons or Towns, united together for one and the self same cause, are to be reputed far stronger, and more like to stand, than very many, thô much more potent, if they have many and different ends.

22. Wherefore, it much imports a Prince who supports a Forraign League, to discover as much as he is able, what end or motive induc'd the heads and principal Confederates to enter into it, whereby he will the better discern, what their force and strength may be, and how like they are to stand and maintain their quarrel; for if they have all one end, they may be reputed the stronger; but if their ends be different they cannot long stand; as we have seen by experience of late, in the *French League*; which notwithstanding the great succours both of Men and Money giv'n 'em by the Catholick King, dissolv'd rather of it self, than by any force of Enemy; by reason that very many of the Governours of Towns and chief Pillars thereof, concurr'd not in one end with the whole League; and therefore when they receiv'd satisfaction of their particular ends and desires, or saw themselves out of hopes thereof, they easily chang'd their party.

23. To such Leagues, united only in exterior shew, and not in one common end, I hold it not secure or convenient for a Prince to give succour, except he be mov'd thereunto by some

(a) *Philip de Com. Cron. du Roy Louis.* ca. 26.
eminent

eminent danger of Invasion, or other great damage, which he fear's to receive from the Enemy of such a League: In which case necessity may force him to hold his said Enemy employ'd, as I have signifi'd before in this Chapter, (a) whilst he prepares for his better defence at home, or at least may win time, which in all extremities is to be sought, and often hinders the greatest inconveniences.

24. Moreover, forasmuch as the succours demanded, or giv'n, consist commonly either in Mony, Men, or in both; and that it imports a Prince for the furtherance of some just pretence, or obligation of his own, or for some publick good, liberally to employ not only his forces, but also his Mony, to maintain and support a Forraign League; I will add somewhat concerning the same, to the end that a Young Statist may the better understand, both what to advise, and also how to act therein.

25. First therefore, concerning the bestowing of Mony, I say, that althô it cannot be deny'd, but that Mony do's very much in all businels of this nature, for *Quid non mortalia pectora cogit auri sacra fames?* What do's not the insatiable hunger of Gold compel Men to do? Yet ordinarily the effect that Mony has, is but to dispose the Wills and Minds of Men, to the desir'd end; which disposition nevertheless, in some that receive the Mony, is none at all, in others very little, and in most very doubtful, and to be suspected;

for those to whom thou giv'st thy Mony either are thy Enemies, Friends, or Neutrals, if they be thy Enemies, commonly they take thy Mony, to impoverish thee, and to enrich themselves, and to employ thy own Mony against thee when time serves; if they be Friends, thy Mony works little, because their own good Will and Friendship, bind's 'em more to thee, than thy Mony; if they be Neutrals, and become thy Friends for the profit they gain by thee; their Friendship will last no longer than the profit continues, and when they shall think to get more by thy Enemy than by thee, they will be his Friends for the same reason, that they were thine; and altho' they shall reap never so great benefit by thee, they will persuade themselves, that thou seekest thy own commodity and not theirs, and that thou art beholding to them, because they vouchsafe to take thy Mony.

26. And forasmuch as the hunger and desire of Mony, increases with the possession and use thereof, the more thou givest 'em, the more they will desire, for as Cicero says, (*a*) *Fit deterior qui accipit, & ad idem semper expectandum paratior;* He who takes or receives Mony, is made worse thereby, and is always the readier to expect more. So that if you do not give 'em, when, and what they shall expect or demand of you, they will hate you more because you refuse to give 'em, than they lov'd you for what they have already receiv'd; for as Seneca says, *Vetus & nota*

(a) *Cicero Offi. l. 2.*

ingratitudo

ingratitudo est, dati immemores, meminisse negati; ideoque rare & tepentes gratiae, feruida & frequentes querelle; 'Tis an old and notorious ingratitude, to forget a benefit receiv'd, and still to remember a benefit deny'd. whereupon it follows, that thanks are rare and cold, and complaints frequent and fervent.

27. I say not this because I think it not convenient to Negotiate with Mony, to gain and entertain the affections of Men, but only to signifie that 'tis to be done with great consideration; for as Pliny says, (*a*) *Inconsiderata largitionis comes, Pœnitentia est;* Repentance ever accompanies the inconsiderate Employment of Mony. Therefore to say somewhat of this point, my opinion is, that 'tis convenient for any one, that Negotiates with Mony in a strange Country, to have his Purse always open, for such as are true Friends to him, and the League; as well to gratifie them, and recompence their good Wills and good Offices, as also to help their necessities, and enable 'em to uphold their party.

28. And those may be accounted true Friends, whose End is either the common End of the whole League, or so dependant thereupon, that it cannot be otherwise obtain'd, but by the good success of the League; and to such, Mony may always be securely giv'n, when their necessities, or the Publick good of the League shall require it: But to others in my Opinion, little or nothing is to be giv'n, unless it be to buy of 'em some important Places, or to recompence Intelligences, or other services already done; and there-

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fore it will be convenient to use all diligence, as before I signifi'd, to discover the true Motives that induc'd those to enter into the League to whom Mony is to be giv'n.

29. And in case it may seem needful, to venture something to entertain some few principal Men, thô Neutrals or suspected, to divert 'em from compounding with the Enemy, I think 'twill be convenient to give 'em largely, and more than the Enemy is like to give 'em; and precisely to accomplish whatever else shall be promis'd, for otherwise they will acknowledge no obligation, and when the Enemy shall give 'em more, they will follow him; and if promise be not kept with 'em, they will esteem themselves to be mock'd, and for very disdain will pass to the Enemy; of all which, I saw daily experience in time of the League in *France*, where the King of *Spain* bestow'd many Millions in Pensions, that many receiv'd, who afterwards became his open Enemies; some of 'em because they were not punctually pay'd their Pensions; others because, as they pretended, promise was not kept with 'em in other things; and some others again, either because they cou'd not have whatsoever they demanded, or because others had more than they.

30. But how much soever shall be bestow'd upon one, or other, there is no security or assurance, in Negotiating with Mony alone; except the same be either accompany'd, or shortly seconded with sufficient Forces, which concurring therewith, may work great effect, and therefore the Oracle sayd to *Philip of Macedon*, *Hastis pugna argentatis,*

argentatis, & omnia vices; Fight with Silver Spears, and thou shalt overcome all; advising him thereby, to employ Money and Forces together; for a Negotiation with Money alone, the longer it continues, the more danger there is to loose both the Money and the busines; for no trust is to be had in affection bought with Money, and not grounded on Reason and Virtue. In which respect Philip King of Macedon, sayd very well to Alexander his Son, who sought to gain from him the good Wills of the Macedonians with gifts and bribes, (a) *What a mischief, says he, persuadeth thee to think, that those will ever be faithful unto thee, whom thou hast corrupted with Money.*

31. Thus much for this matter, whereof much more might be sayd, if the Question were reduc'd to particular persons and Countries, that might Minister other important considerations of difficulties, according to the nature, strength or weakness of the places, conditions, and abilities of the persons who were to be succour'd or impugn'd; which I forbear to prosecute any farther, to pass to another matter, I mean to debate; whether the remedies which Politicians teach, against the dangers and inconveniences proceeding from wickednes, be sufficient in reason and true Policy, to secure the State of a Wicked Prince? By occasion whereof, I will examen divers principles of Macchiavel's Doctrin, and shew the absurdity thereof; to the end that the Young Statist whom I inform, may understand, as well

what to avoid, as what to embrace in matter of Policy ; and be convinc'd that a Prince's State, cannot be assur'd by wickedness.

C H A P. VI.

Another Question is debated for the farther Instruction of Young Statists : Whether a Prince's State can be assur'd by Wicked Policy ? Whereupon many principles of Machiavel and Polititians his followers, are examin'd, and confuted by reasons of State ; without the consideration of God's Justice.

NO Man endow'd with reason will deny, that Wickedness in a Prince, makes him hateful to his Subjects, and consequently endangers his State; which all *Machiavellians*, and Polititians know so well, that the greatest part of their Policy consists in devising remedies against the same; to the end that their Prince may be securely wicked; that is, that he may purchase and enjoy all Worldly pleasures, and commodities *per fas & nefas*, by right or wrong, without danger of any revenge from Man, or fear of the Wrath and Justice of God, because they believe not, that there is

a God, or at least that he meddles with the Affairs of Men.

2. Now forasmuch, as I have already sufficiently prov'd throughout this whole Treatise, that God disposes of Princes, and their States, and punishes 'em for sin when they deserve it; whereupon it also follows, that all *Machiavillian*, and wicked Policies, tending to the conservation of wicked Princes, are not only frivolous and vain; but also noisome, and pernicious to their Estates: Therefore I will here in this Chapter, lay aside the consideration, of God's Providence and Justice, and examen the sufficiency of *Machiavellian* Policies according only to reasons of State; to shew thereby the absurdity of Polititians, who think themselves able to warrant and defend a Prince in wickednes; by plunging him first into needless dangers, and then endeavouring to apply some remedies: As if a Man shou'd Poyson his Friend, making full account to Cure him afterwards; whereas 'tis the part of a Wise Physician, rather to prevent the danger and inconvenience, than to admit it upon confidence in remedies, whereof no Man living can warrant the success. This I say, because *Machiavilians* do most absurdly endanger their Princes by their wicked Council, in hopes to deliver 'em afterwards by their Policies; whereof the success is not in their hands, but so uncertain and subject to chance and hazard, that no Wit or Power of Man, can assure it, as I have heretofore most amply prov'd. (a)

3. But let us see some of their remedies. One of the principal, according to the Doctrin of their great Master *Machiavel*, is, (a) extremity of all mischief and wickedness, which *Machiavel* teaches to be far more secure for a Prince, than Mediocrity betwixt Vertue, and Vice; therefore he wou'd have his Prince to be either the best Man living, or the worst; that is to say, either to be a Saint or a Devil: Whereof his reason must needs be, if he have any at all, that he who holds the middle way betwixt Vertue, and Vice, and do's sometimes ill, must needs incur the offence and hatred of some Men, whereby he will be in danger; wherefore he thinks it convenient for such a one to practise the common Proverb; *Qui semel verecundia, &c.* He that once has past the bounds of shame, must become very Impudent; that is, he that is once over the Shoes in Sin, and Iniquity, must for his safty, plunge himself over Head and Ears; as thô the way to Remedy a Disease were to nourish and encrease its Cause; as to Cure a Dropsie, with continual Drinking; or a Burning Feaver with hot Wines, and Spices; or to cast Oyle into the Fire to quench it; for so *Machiavellians* do, who to remedy the danger that grow's to a Wicked Prince by hatred, make him more hateful; and by the extremity and excesses of wickednes, exposè him to the extream and excessive hatred of all Men, and consequently to ruin and perdition.

4. For as *Cicero* says, (a) *Multorum odijs, nulla opes nullæ vires poterunt resistere*: No force, power,

(a) *Macha. de princi.* (b) *Cicero Offic.*

or wealth are able to resist the hatred of many ; and much less of all Men ; yes, say they ; *Oderint dum metuant*. Let 'em hate him (be they never so many) so they fear him ; for, fear shall so repress their hatred, that they shall not dare to attempt or execute any thing to his prejudice. Thus say they, but most absurdly ; for, fear in a mind possess'd with hatred, is nothing else, but, as it were ; *Vnguis in ulcere* ; *A Mans nail or a scratch in an Ulcer* or botch, which is exasperated thereby, and the pain of the Patient greatly aggravated ; and thô fear do's in some sort delay and repress the fury of hatred , yet it makes it much more secure for the hater, and more dangerous to him that is hated.

5. For, those who hate without fear, many times attempt unadvisedly their own destruction, but those who hate and fear, deliberate, and execute, with much more maturity, and consideration ; and consequently with less danger to themselves, and more to their Enemy ; so that when the Prince adds fear to the hatred of his Subjects, he redoubl's both his own fear, and also his own danger. Whereupon the Tragical Poët says very well. (a) *Qui sceptra duro sævus Imperio regit, Timet timentes, metus in Autorem reddit.* He who Governs by Severity and Cruelty, fears those who fear him, and the fear fall's back upon the Author, or Cause thercof. And as Seneca the Stoick says, *Necessæ est ut multis timeat, quem multi timent.* He must needs fear many whom many fear. Cicero also following Ennius the Poët, says, (b) Men hate him whom they fear,

(a) Seneca Tragedy. (b) Cicero Offici. lib. 2.

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and every one desir's the destruction of him he hat's, and no force or power of Empire, be it never so great, can long stand if oppress'd with continual fear of it's Subjects. Thus Cicero declares the danger a Prince incurs by hatred and fear, which are most forceable and urgent Motives to move and excite Conspiracies, as well amongst Subjects as Forraigners, as well to deliver themselves, as to discharge their wrath and hatred upon their Prince. Wherefore Aristotle reckons hatred, and fear amongst the principal causes of the destruction of Monarchies, and Tyrannies. To conclude, Seneca speaking of a Tyrant, says very well: He is hated because he is fear'd, and he fears because he is hated, and uses the execrable saying, which has ruin'd many. Oderint dum metuant; Let 'em hate me, so they fear me, not considering that a moderate fear moderates and tempers Mens minds, but great and vehement fear provok's the most patient to fury, and fear seeks for security in danger. (a)

6. But hereupon the Machiavellians say, that for this reason the Prince has his Guards, Armies, and Fortresses to defend himself from all attempts both Domestical and Forraign, besides the Vigilancy and Policy, which he uses to prevent Conspiracies, by disarming and impoverishing his Subjects, forbidding their Assemblies, and publick Conventions, and all other means which may breed love, trust, and confidence amongst 'em; frequently also terrifying 'em with a sight of his Guards, and Garrisons, to make 'em servile and base-min-

(a) Arist. lib. 5. Polit.

ded; suffering 'em to be vicious, and dissolute of Life, to make 'em Effeminate; not permitting 'em the use of Schools, or other means, whereby they may become Learn'd, Wise and Politick; employing his Spyes every where for the discovery of every Man's Intention; nourishing division amongst the greatest, to counterpoise the one and the other; suspecting all Men, be they never so much bound to him; and finally, cutting off by one means or other, all those, whose Power, Courage, or Wit, he thinks dangerous to his State; whereby he will be secure and free from the danger which may happen to his Person or State by the hatred of his Subjects.

7. Thus say they; whereunto I Answer, that if *Machiavel* or some other Polititians, in these our Days, had been the first Inventors of these Policies, and that they had never been yet try'd and put in practise, it might with more reason be suppos'd, that there were or might be some assurance, and security therein for a wicked Prince; but seeing all this, or whatsoever else *Machiavel*, or any Polititians teaches for the conservation of a Tyrant, has been practis'd in all Times and Ages, by Tyrants and Wicked Princes, who nevertheless have all, or the most part of 'em perish'd, and been ruin'd by the hatred of Men; who sees not the insufficiency thereof, for the assurance of a Wicked Prince.

8. Can *Machiavel*, or any other Polititian teach more to this purpose, than we find Written above two thousand Years ago by *Aristotle* (a) in his

(a) *Arist. lib. 5. Polit. ca. II.*

Politicks,

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Politicks, who shewing the means whereby Tyrants seek to preserve themselves, and their States, proposes to *Machiavel* and his followers all the matter, and substance of their wicked Policies; which nevertheless were not approv'd by *Aristotle* as sufficient for the conservation of Tyranny, but reprov'd and utterly rejected by him; in which respect he declares how unsecure Tyranny is, and exemplifies the same, in all the Tyrannical States, which had been before, or in his time; shewing how speedily they all perish'd, excepting only four, whereof the first continu'd a hundred Years; the second seventy three, and six Months; the third thirty three; and the fourth twenty one Years. (a) And the cause of the long continuance of the first and seconf, he ascribes to the moderate and just Government of the Tyrants, who, thô they got their States Tyrannically, and held 'em by Usurpation and Force, whereby they were call'd Tyrants, yet they Govern'd with such Moderation and Justice, that they were greatly belov'd by their Subjects.

9. To which purpose *Aristotle* also observes, (b) that the Reign of a Tyrant is so much the more secure, by how much more moderate it is, and nearer to the just Government of a King; wherein the *Machiavellians* may note, both by the Doctrin and Experience of *Aristotle*, that the extremity of Wickedness and Tyranny, is the highway to carry a Prince head-long to his destruction, notwithstanding all their aforesaid preventions; whereof some part are most necessary for

(a) *Arist. lib. 5. ca. 12.* (b) *Ibid. c. 11.*

the conservation of any Princes State, as Guards, Garrisons, Fortress's, Vigilance of Counsellors, Diligence of Spyes, and Intelligencers; as also such other part of those Policies, as is conformable to Reason, Justice and Conscience; but the rest, I mean those points of hindering love and confidence amongst the Subjects; immoderate pilling and polling 'em; making 'em effeminate, ignorant and base-minded; nourishing debate amongst great Persons; and cutting off such as are more eminent in Credit, Power, Courage and Wit; these I say, and all such proceedings are against Charity, Justice, and Conscience; as well as against all true Policy; and so far from helping to conserue a Tyrant, that they help to ruin him; as here in this Chapter it will appear concerning some of these points, both in particular, and general, so far as shall be necessary for the present; leaving the examination of the rest, to the Third part of this Treatise, whereunto they more properly belong.

10. And now to speak of some of 'em; what can be more contrary to true reason of State, than to hinder trust, confidence and love amongst the People, without which there can be no Commonwealth? For without love, and confidence, there can be no fidelity; and without fidelity, no justice; and without justice no Commonwealth; as I have already sufficiently declar'd. (a)

11. For this cause all Ancient Law-makers, and Founders of Commonwealths, have ordain'd in all Countries and Cities publick Feasts, Plays,

(a) Tom. 2. Chap. 3. Num. 18.

and Assemblies, where the People may meet together, not only for their Recreation, but also to make 'em known one to another; to the end that love and friendship may spring from their acquaintance and conversation; and the same may produce a general union for the conservation of peace in the whole Common-wealth; and therefore Aristotle says, (a) that friendship is ; *Maximum bonum Civitatibus*; *The greatest good that can be to Cities*, for says he; *By means thereof they shall be free from Sedition*. Solon also esteem'd this amity, and union of minds, so necessary for the conservation of human Society, that being ask'd, what Common-wealth was best, and most like to continue? (b) Such a one, says he, wherein every Man takes the injury done to another, as done to himself; and to the same purpose he made a Law in Athens giving leave to every one to take upon him the just quarrel of another, and to demand reparation of the wrong, as if the matter concern'd himself; which Constitution of Solon, Plutarch (c) highly commends; *As a means*, says he, *to accustom the People to feel and redress the grievances and injuries one of another*, as being all members of one Body; whereby we may understand that the union and love of the members of the Body Politick, or Common-wealth, is no less necessary, than the combination of the parts in the Natural Body; which Seneca teaches very well in these words. *As all the members and parts of Mans*

(a) Arist. li. 2. Polit. c. 2. (b) Plutarch.
(c) Plutarch in Solon.

Body, agree together, for the conservation of the whole, which also conduces to the good of every particular member; so all Men ought to like and procure anothers advantage, because we are born to live in Society, which cannot be conserv'd but by the agreement and love of the parts thereof.

12. How can it then stand with true Policy, or reason of State, to hinder this union and love of the People? Or to sow and nourish factions amongst 'em, especially amongst great persons, whereby Seditions, Tumults and Troubles may arise in the Common-wealth? Yes, say the *Macchiavellians*, it stands very well with the reason of our Princes State; who seek's not the general good of the Common-wealth, but his own particular benefit; and therefore, forasmuch as the union and friendship of his Subjects may animate and enable 'em the sooner to Conspire against him, 'tis good policy and reason of State for him, to maintain factions amongst 'em; according to the Tyrannical principle; *Si vis regnare, divide; If thou wilt Reign, sow or make division.*

13. Thus say they, of whom I wou'd fain learn, how they can in this case separate the danger of the Common-wealth, from the danger of the Prince, to make this good Policy for him; can the Body be in danger without the Head be so too? Has it not been many times seen, that some private quarrel at first betwixt mean persons, has afterwards pass'd farther to many, and from them come to be universal, to the ruin of a whole State? And therefore *Plutarch* wisely compares Sedition to a little spark of Fire, which falling into Straw,

or

whole, or other dry matter, in some corner of a House, sets the same on Fire, whereby in the end a whole Town is burnt; in which respect he counts it for one of the most special Points of Political Science, to take away all occasion of Sedition; and when it grow's, quickly to appease it.

14. Aristotle also teaches the same very seriously, (a) affirming that Sedition is the chief cause of the change, and subversion of Commonwealths, shewing how many ways it may arise, and how it may be remedy'd; and that 'tis always dangerous, but then most pernicious, when it grows amongst great persons; and therefore he advises to remedy the same if it be possible in the very beginning; because (b) *Principium dicitur esse dimidium totius*; *The beginning is say'd to be one half of the whole*; and little Seditions at the first, grow afterwards to be great, especially amongst great Men; *Whose discord*, says he, *draws the whole Common-wealth after 'em*; whereof he al-leges divers examples, which I omit, because I have treated this matter already, (c) upon the occasion of a Law of Solon; where I have shew'd how dangerous, and pernicious some Seditions have been, which have only sprung amongst Women and Boys; and I have also farther declar'd the danger of nourishing division amongst great persons, by a Domestical example of the utter overthrow of King Henry the VI. (d) and of all the House of Lancaster, whereof the first ground

(a) *Arist. Polit. li. 5. ca. 2. 3. & 4.* (b) *Idem Ibid. c. 4.* (c) *Tom. I. ca. 7. nu. 14. 19. 20, & 21.*

(d) *Ibid. nu. 17.*

and

and occasion was, that the Queen his Wife main-tain'd division betwixt the Duke of *Somerset*, and Earl of *Warwick*. And to the same purpose I have also alledg'd other examples out of *Philip de Comines*, (a) with his opinion and advice to all Princes, to labor with all speed to compound such quarrels, as fall out amongst their Nobility, and not to nourish 'em by any means; lest they shou'd kindle a Fire in their own House, which after they will not be able to quench. Whereby it may appear how dangerous and absurd the Counsel is, which *Machiavellians* give to their Princes, to nourish factions in their Commonwealth, and especially amongst the greatest persons; as thô Princes were Omnipotent, and had the Hearts, and Wills of all Men in their Hands, to move, and sway; incense, or appease; in such manner and measure, as it shall please 'em; which power is only in God's Hand. So that 'tis evident in this case, that *Machiavellians* expose their Prince to manifest danger without any assurance, or sufficient probability of remedy, which in matter of State is most absurd, as I have before declar'd. (b)

15. The like may also be sayd of their other pernicious Policies before mention'd, consisting in all kind of cruelty, injustice and wickednes; whereby they make their Princes most odious to all Men, and by consequence, draw them into manifest danger; from which they are not able to warrant or defend 'em by all their Policy: As it

(a) Tom. 1. ca. 7. nu. 16. &c. 18. *Philip de Comines*
de reb. gest. Ludov. 138. (b) Tom. 2. ca. 4. nu. II. &c. 12.

may

main- may appear by the experience of all former Ages, and to this very time wherein we live; seeing all those Histories testifie, that the more wicked and Ty-
rannical Princes have been, and the more they have
o all incur'd the hatred of Men, the sooner they have
such been ruin'd; some by open Rebellions of their
and Subjects; some others by their general defection
in favor of Strangers; others by secret Conspira-
cies of a few; and others also by some desperate
attempt of some one Man; notwithstanding all
their Policies, Power, or force of Guards, Ar-
mies, Fortresses, or other human remedies.

16. This Point *Cicero* proves, (a) by the examples of *Phalaris* a most cruel Tyrant, whom the People of the *Agrigentins* oppress'd in a general Tumult; of *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheræ*, kill'd by his own Wife; and of *Demetrius* King of *Macedon*, forsaken by all his Subjects in favor of King *Pyrrhus*: To whom we may add *Romulus* the first Founder of the *Roman Empire*, who having made himself hateful to his Senators, was Murder'd by them, in the very Senate-house. As also *L. Tarquinius Priscus* (b) his third Successor was kill'd by two Shepherds, being become odious to the People for his injustice and fraud towards the Children of *Ancus Marcius*; whom he depriv'd of their Kingdom, thô he was left their Tutor by their Father. In like manner *Tarquinius Superbus*, the seventh and last King of the *Romans*, who us'd all the Tyrannical Policies abovemention'd, violating all Laws both Human and Divine,

(a) *Cicero Offic.* li. 2. (b) *T. Livius Dec.* ii. li. 5.
for

for the conservation of his State, who was nevertheless driv'n out of his Kingdom by his Subjects, and the Name of King and Kingly Authority abolished amongst the Romans in hatred of him, for the space of five hundred Years.

17. And if we look into the *Roman Empire* after *Julius Cæsar*, we shall find that neither Policy, nor Power, cou'd defend many Emperors of *Rome*, and *Constantinople*, against the hatred of Men, and to omit others who perish'd upon other occasions, it may appear by (a) *Julius Cæsar* himself, *Cajus Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, (b) *Commodus*, (c) *Didius Julianus*, *Caracalla*, (d) *Opilius Macrinus* and his Son *Diadumenus*, (e) *Heliogabalus*, *Alexander*, *Severus*, *Julius*, *Maximinus*, (f) *Gaius*, (g) *Philipus*, (h) *Aurelian*, (i) *Constans* the first (k) *Gratian*: *Valentinian* the third, *Basilicus*, *Zeno*, *Mauritius*, *Phocas*, *Heracleon* with his Mother *Martina*, *Constans* the second, *Justinian* the second, *Philippicus*, *Constantinus* the sixth, *Nicephorus Stauracius*, *Leo Armenus*, *Michael the Son of Theophilus*, *Nicephorus*, surnam'd *Phocas*, *John Zemisches*, *Michael Calaphates*, *Stratioticus*, *Michael Parapinaceus*, *Andronicus Comnenus*, and divers others who having incur'd the hatred either of their Subjects in general, or of some particular persons, were some of 'em Poyson'd, and others violently Slain, either by the fury of the People,

(a) *Sueton Tranquil.* (b) *Ælius Lamprid.* (c) *Sparian.* (d) *Iul. Capito.* (e) *Lamprid.* (f) *Trebellius Pollio.* (g) *Sextus Aurel. Victor.* (h) *Fla. Vopiscus.* (i) *Pomponius laetus.* (k) *Ioan. Baptista Egrius. Zonaras. Nicetas Choniates.*

ever, or by their Nobility, or by their own Guards, Subjects, and Soldiers; or by their Wives, Concubines, Servants; or by other particular Men: Besides, for that some others of 'em were depos'd, and either confin'd to Monasteries, or depriv'd as well of their Eyes and Noses, as of their Empire; and Zeno (a) amongst the rest, a most cruel and crafty Tyrant, was put alive into his Sepulcher, by the consent of his Wife, whilst he was Drunk; or as some Write, taken with a Fit of the falling Sickness; being also so hated of his own Servants, and Guards, that when he came to himself and cry'd for help out of the Sepulchre, (b) no Man assist'd or pitty'd him; and so he dy'd raging, and tearing his own Flesh with his Teeth, as it appear'd afterwards when the Tomb was open'd.

18. And thô every one of these was not so subtle or politick, nor yet so wicked as Machiavel would have his Prince to be, yet 'tis evident in them all, (c) that the hatred of Subjects is most pernicious to Princes, and in divers of 'em it manifestly appears, that no human power, or wicked policy, can warrant, and secure, the State of a Prince generally hated, seeing they excell'd not only in Imperial power, but also in subtily, craft, perfidiousness, perjury, deep dissimulation, cruelty, and all such wickedness, as Machiavel requires in his Prince. And to omit others, the last I nam'd of the Emperors of Constantinople, to wit, Andronicus Comnenus, was so eminent and egregious

(a) Cedren. in Comb. Zenias Annal. To. 8.
 b) Ioan. Baptista Egnat. in Zenone. (c) Epito.
 Ioan. Bap. Fgnatij.

in all Tyrannical Policy, that Egnatius worthily calls him : (a) *Callidissimum mortalium; The most crafty of all Mortal Men*, of whose manner of Government I will briefly say something, to the end it may appear how little security a Prince can have by wicked Policy, against the hatred of Men.

19. This *Andronicus* having with great art and subtilty, obtain'd to be Tutor to the Young Emperor *Alexius*, Son to *Emanuel*, made himself shortly after his Companion in the Empire, procur-ing the Death of the Empress Mother to *Alexius* and of divers others, whose Lives he thought to be prejudicial to his pretence; and within a while also caus'd the Young Emperor himself to be Murder'd, notwithstanding his former Oath of Fidelity, Solemly confirm'd by receiving the 'Blessed Sacrament. And being then Emperor alone, and finding himself to be hateful to his People, he practis'd all kinds of Tyrannical Policy, which cou'd be devis'd for his own preservation; he guarded his Palace, and Person, with strong Guards of Barbarous Strangers, and the most desperat Fellowes that cou'd be found; who cou'd neither speak nor understand the Language of the Country; and he had besides every Night at his Chamber Door a huge Mastiff-dog, so fierce that he durst fight hand to hand with a Lyon, or with an Arm'd Man on Horse-back; he was also provided of wicked Instruments for the execution of his Will in all cases; as Spyes, Promoters, and mu-false Witnesseſ, whereby many Noblemen were gre-

(a) *Nicetas Choniates in Andronico Commodo. li. i. kill'*

kill'd, and imprison'd, or banish'd, for no other reason, but because he fear'd, that either their Credit with the People, or their Power, Wealth, or Wit, might prove in time dangerous to his State.

20. Yet nevertheless knowing very well, (a) that the more his Empire flourish'd in Justice, the more twou'd be to his Honor, Benefit, and Security; he shew'd such special care thereof, that he excell'd many excellent Princes therein, not only in providing for the Election of Just and Wise Officers, but also severely punishing those, who either did, or permitted, any wrong to be done to the meanest or poorest Subject he had. Moreover, he ordain'd, and gave a most liberal allowance to all Magistrates for their maintenance, peror to the end, that they shou'd not have any need, o his or pretence to take Bribes; and such as were policy, prov'd Corrupt, he so exemplarily punish'd, that ion; within a while, no Magistrate durst take any thing of strong any Man, thô never so freely offer'd; he shew'd him- self affable, and courteous to the poor, seem'd could very full of pitty and compassion when he heard of the their complaints; and did 'em exact Justice; and it his moreover took such order for the relief of the ne- cessities of the common People, that all kind of r with Victuals were most cheap and plentiful; the pro grounds were well Till'd, and Manur'd; the on of Countries well Inhabited; Villages and Cities much augmented; and the Common-wealth were greatly enrich'd.

li. 1. (a) *Idem li. 1, & 2. Idem Ibid.*

21. Such was the care he seem'd to have of Justice, and of the publick good; which nevertheless he respected no farther than it might turn to his own particular benefit or pleasure, which he, as all other Tyrants do, preferr'd before all other things whatsoever. For as he provided the Common-wealth of excellent Magistrates, so he furnish'd his Court and Council with wicked Counsellors and Judges, void of all Conscience, who executed his Will upon all such as incur'd his suspicion, or displeasure; banishing some, depriving others of their Eyes and Goods, secretly Drowning and Murdering several persons, and publickly Condemning many others, upon false pretences; of whom nevertheless he himself wou'd seem to have great compassion. As for example, understanding that one *Isacius* (a) a Nobleman having taken Arms against him in the Island of *Cyprus*, he pick'd a quarrel against two of his own trustiest Servants and Favorites, because they were great friends of the other, and caus'd 'em to be accus'd of Treason, Condemn'd, and Executed; and when suite was made unto him after their Deaths, that their Bodies, which were Hang'd up, might be taken down and Bury'd, he seem'd so much to pity their case, that he shed abundance of Tears, lamenting that Sentence of the Judges, and that the Severity and Authority of the Laws over-power'd, and out-weigh'd his inclination and affection towards 'em. (b) And when any were found guilty of Sedition, not only they

(a) *Idem, lib. 1. Idem, lib. 2.*

them.

themselves, but also their whole Kindred and Families were Condemn'd and Ruin'd; to the end that none of their Race shou'd be left to revenge it: Which nevertheless he seem'd rather to permit, and suffer to be done, than to ordain it himself: For he caus'd his Judges and Magistrates to give those publick Sentences, and Edicts with plausible preambles; shewing their care of the safety of the Emperor's person, and referring it not to his Command, but to the Divine Inspiration, as a thing necessary for God's Service, and the good of the Common-wealth.

22. Now I appeal to any *Machiavellian*, whether *Andronicus* had not the Quintessence of *Machiavel's* Policy, before *Machiayel* was Born? And whether he wanted either desire, wit, or wickednes, to conserver his State against the hatred of Men, if it had been possible to have done it by wicked means? Therefore let us see the end, which was such, that it may serve for an exemplar warning to all *Machiavellian* Polititians.

23. Whilst *Andronicus* Govern'd in this manner, his cruelty and injustice did purchase him more hatred, than the good he did for the publick cou'd recompence; which fill'd him every day with new fears, suspicions, and jealousies; especially after that he was press'd with Wars by *William King of Sicily*; who having overthrown some of his Armies, and taken *Theffalonica*, and other Towns of importance, march'd towards *Constantinople*, wherewith the People began to take courage and to discover their hatred towards *Andronicus* daily more and more; which put him in

such fear of Conspiracies, that he consulted with Sorcerers, and Witches, and especially with one *Sethus* a Magician, who Divin'd by a Basen of Water; and one Day when *Andronicus* desir'd to know the Name of his Successor, *Sethus* shew'd him in the Water the two Letters *I.* and *S.* whereby he and his Counsellors conjectur'd that it must needs be *Isacius*, who actually Rebell'd against him in the Island of *Cyprus*, as I have declar'd; nevertheless, there was another *Isacius* furnam'd *Angelus* at the same time in the Court, but a Man of so mild a Spirit, and so small Courage, that *Andronicus* himself, as suspiciois as he was, did no way suspect him; but one of his chief Counsellors suggested to him, that 'twere good to Command the said *Isacius Angelus* to be taken and put in Prison, to prevent the worst; lest, says he, we may seek the Viper abroad in the Field, when perhaps we have him in our Bosom: And thô *Andronicus* seem'd at first to contemn *Isacius*, as a Man no way to be fear'd, yet 'twas resolv'd by him and his Council, that he shou'd be taken, and for that purpose, *Stephanus* one of his chief Counsellors and worst Instruments, went himself with certain Sergeants to the House of *Isacius*, who defending himself, kill'd *Stephanus*, and ran presently with his Sword Bloody in his Hand, through the Market-place, to take Sanctuary in the chief Church of the Town, imploring as he went, the help of the People, and declaring what he had done; whereupon the People flock'd after him to the Church, and greatly pittyng his Case, and commanding his Act, their Courage

at length encreasing with their Number, they began to embolden one another, first to defend *Isacius*, and after to make him Emperor; which being propounded to the whole Assembly, was accepted and allow'd of by them all, thô he himself neither desir'd, nor so much as dream'd of it, but wou'd have thought himself well pay'd, cou'd he but save his Life.

24. This resolution being taken amongst 'em, they Proclaim'd him Emperor, first in the Church, and after in the Streets; which was approv'd by a general consent of all the Nobility, and People of the City, who came all to yield him Obedience and to assist him; *Andronicus* seeing himself forsaken of all his Subjects, durst not trust to the strength neither of his Palace, nor of his Guards, nor of his great Dog, but fled away in a Boat, and was shortly after taken, and brought back loaden with Iron Chain's; scorn'd, and revil'd by the People, his Hair of his Head and Beard pluck'd off, his Teeth struck out, his Right Hand cut off, and a few Days after, one of his Eyes being pull'd out of his Head, he was set upon a Scabb'd Camel, Apparrell'd ridiculously, and carry'd through the Streets, to be shew'd to the People; who cast upon him all kind of Filth and Ordure, every one contending who shou'd, deride, or abuse him most; and at last, he was hang'd up by the heel's, his Apparel torn from him, and his naked Body wounded by whosoever wou'd strike him; as many did after divers manners, some for sport, some for revenge of injuries, some to try their Swords, and

others for trial of their strength; till at length he was hack'd and hew'd to pieces. Behold here the fruit of *Machiavellian* Policy, the lamentable Issue of Wickedness and Tyranny, and the small assurance that Tyrants have, against the hatred of their Subjects, either by Usurp'd Power, or Impious Policy; whereunto I might add a special reflection upon God's Just Judgments, but that I have determin'd not to urge the same in this Chapter.

25. Having recounted these Examples out of the *Roman* and *Greek* Historians, I shall here add some of the Examples that happen'd, as well in our own, as other Countries. What caus'd the destruction of *Edmond Ironside*, (a) who was Murder'd upon a Privy, or the continual Rebellions in the time of King *John*; (b) or the untimely Death of *Edward the II* broch'd with a Spit; (c) or of *Richard the II*, first Depos'd, and after Kill'd in Prison; (d) or yet of *Richard the III* forsaken of his Nobility and Commons, and Slain at *Bosworth* Field; but the hatred of their Subjects? And as to the last of these, I mean *Richard the III*, if we consider his Malignant and Treacherous Nature, his Cruelty, deep dissimulation, devilish devices and inventions, as well to get the Crown, as after to conserve it, his Murders, mischiefs, and his other horrible impiety; we shall not find him inferior to the most famous Tyrants of former times, for all impious and

(a) *Fo:idor Virgil.* 17. (b) *Idem, lib.* (c) *Idem, lib.* (d) *Idem, lib.*

wicked

wicked Policy; which nevertheless cou'd not free him from the danger of destruction, which the hatred of his Subjects drew upon him.

26. But what need I alledge other Examples; seeing the Mirror of Machiavels own Prince, *Cæsar Borgia*, may serve for an evident proof of this matter; for thô he so far surpass'd all former Tyrants in wickedness and Tyrannical Policy, that *Machiavel* made special choice of him, to frame his wicked Prince by the Model of his Tyranny, yet he cou'd not uphold and conserve his State, against the hatred of Men, but being abandon'd by his Subjects, and Friends, (a) he became a lamentable Example, not only of human imbecility, but also of the woful end of such as trust to wicked Policy, as I have before declar'd. (b)

27. And thô all former Examples shou'd fail us, yet one or two of the last Age, still fresh in Memory, may suffice for a warning to Princes, how they incur the general hatred of their Subjects, I mean the lamentable end of *Christiern King of Denmark*, (c) first driv'n out of his Kingdom by his own People for his Tyrannical Cruelty, and after also taken, imprison'd, and poysон'd by 'em, as I have before signifi'd; and of *Henry the III, King of France*, who thô he be not to be number'd amongst the Wicked Tyrants before mention'd, yet may serve for an Example of the small assurance a Prince can have against the hatred of his People, seeing that an Army of forty thou-

(a) *Guicciar.* li. 6. (b) *Tom.* 2. (*bz.* 3. *nu.* 4.
& *Chz.* 11. *nu.* 4. & 5.) (c) *Sutius in Comment.*
1517, *Olaus Mag.* li. 8. ca. 39.

sand Men, cou'd not defend his Person against the resolution of one single Man, who Slew him in the midst of 'em all; whereby we may see how true it is which *Seneca* says; *Qui suam vitam contemnit, tunc Dominus erit*; *He that contemnes his own Life, will when he pleases be Master of thine.*

28. Hereupon therefore it follows, that no Prince's power or policy, can sufficiently warrant, and assure his State, against the universal hatred of Men; especially, considering the little security, that wicked Princes, when they grow to be hated, have, of their own Guards, or Armies; which thô they are chiefly for their defence, yet serve many times for no other end, than to Butcher and Slaughter 'em; as I have before declar'd, (a) where I have alledg'd the examples of (b) *Caligula*, (c) *Caracalla*, (d) *Heliogabalus*, *Philip*, (e) *Gallien*, *Machrinus*, (f) *Aurelian*, (g) *Maximinus*, and others; Slain partly by their Soldiers, and partly by their Guards; notwithstanding the great liberality which many of these Emperors us'd to purchase their affections and fidelity; as may be observ'd in *Maximinus*, of whom *Julius Capitolinus* says; (h) *Ea astutia fuit, ut milites non solum virtute regeret, sed etiam præmijs & lucris sui amantissimos redderet*; *He was so crafty, that he did not only Govern his Soldiers by courage, but also won their affections by gifts and rewards*: And yet nevertheless, they several times Conspir'd against him

(a) *Num. II.* (b) *Sueton.* (c) *Spartini*
 (d) *Lamprid.* (e) *Trebellius pollio.* (f) *Fida
Vopiscus.* (g) *Iulus Capitol.* (h) *Iulus Capitu
in Maximis.*

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and at length, when he was denounc'd publick Enemy by the Senate, and in his March towards Rome in great want of Victuals, they kill'd him, and his Son in their Tents, and sent their Heads to Rome.

29. In this Relation I wish two things may be noted; the one, the fruit of Cruelty; for this Maximinus being Tyrannically made Emperor by his Soldiers, against the Will of the Senate, follow'd the principles which Machiavel teaches his Prince, persuading himself, as Julius Capitonius testifies; (a) *Nisi crudelitate, imperium non teneri;* That he cou'd not hold the Empire but by Cruelty; wherein he so exceeded, that some call'd him, Cyclops, some Busiris, some Scyron, some Typhon, and some Phalaris; and therefore in the end he receiv'd the just reward thereof, at the hands of his own Soldiers; to whom notwithstanding his great Donatives, he became no les odious than to other Men. The other thing which I wish may be observ'd, is, that which I have before handl'd, (b) concerning the great infelicity of such Princes, as seek rather to be fear'd than lov'd; for thô they are forc'd for their own safety, to become Slaves to those, by whom they keep others in Slavery, yet they are not secure thereby; being still in danger not only of others, but also of them, who shou'd defend 'em; whose Mercenary minds, are so inconstant, and subject to corruption, that the Lives of the Princes whom they Guard, are ever expos'd to Sale, and therefore

(a) *Ibidem.* (b) *Tom. 1, Cba. 13, nū. 12. & 13.*

can never be secur'd by any human policy, or power; for let the Prince give 'em never so much, to bind 'em to his Service, yet he that shall give, or but promise 'em more, shall win 'em from him; as it has divers times fall'n out to the Roman Emperors, who have been sold by their Soldiers, and Guards, not for ready Mony, but for the promise of greater Summs, than even cou'd be expected; as *Plutarch* notes (4) in the Guards and Soldiers, of *Nero*, corrupted by *Nimphidius* in favor of *Galba*, upon promise of a greater Donative than cou'd afterwards be perform'd, which failing, he caus'd the destruction both of *Nero* and *Galba*; for the Soldiers forsook *Nero* in hope of the payment promis'd; and kill'd *Galba*; because he cou'd not pay it: So ticklish is the trust that Princes repose in Mercenary Men, and so unsecure the State that is to be upheld by such weak props, which many times fail, when there is most need of 'em.

30. Moreover, another special and inevitable danger is to be noted, which any Prince generally hated must needs incur, to wit, the defection of his Subjects in all occasions of Invasion from Forraign Countries, for thô he be never so strong at home in Guards, Garrisons, and Fortresses, and his Subjects also so poor and weak, that they neither dare, nor can rise against him; yet if any Forraign Princes invade him, either upon a quarrel of State, which amongst Princes that are Neighbors is never wanting, or upon

(4) *Plutarch* in *Galba*.

Ambition to enlarge their Dominions; what remedy has he against the general hatred of his People, who have then sufficient opportunity, and means to be reveng'd upon him, and to free themselves from the Yoke of his Tyranny, by taking part with the Forraigner, whereof the experience has many times been seen.

31. We Read in *Justin*, (a) that the Subjects of *Demetrius King of Syria* abandon'd him, for the hatred which they bore him, and took part with a known Counterfeit, calling himself *Alexander*, pretending to be of the Royal Race, as *Perkin Warbeck* also did in *England*, which *Alexander* they accepted for their King, being so incensed against *Demetrius*, that they were content, says *Justin*, to admit any one, to be rid of him. Also the last Kings of *Naples*, (b) no less Rich and Potent than wickedly Politick, being most hateful to their Subjects, for their Tyrannical Government, were forsaken of 'em all, and betray'd to the *French*, to whom they yielded themselves without any resistance; as I have before signifi'd at large. (c)

32. Also *Lewis Sforza Duke of Milan*, may serve for an example of this matter. For when *Lewis* the XII King of *France*, made War against him, and had already taken divers of the chief Towns, and Forts in the State of *Milan*, (d) Duke *Lewis* knowing himself to be very odious to his Subjects for his great exactions, and impositions, and fearing lest they wou'd abandon him; assembl'd

(a) *Justin*. li. 39. (b) *Guicciard.* li. 6. *Philip Comin in Carolo 8.* (c) *Tom. 1. Chap. 22.*
(d) *Guicciard.* li. 4.

the People of *Milan*, to regain their good Wills, and not only remitted divers Taxes which he had impos'd upon 'em, but also gave 'em many reasons and excuses of his former proceedings; nevertheless, such was the hatred which they had conceiv'd against him, that in a few Days after, they took Arms, kill'd *Antonio Landriano* his Treasurer, forc'd him to fly, call'd in the *French*, and yielded the Town and themselves to their Obedience. Have we not seen the like effect of hatred in *England*, (a) in the time of King *John*, when the Barons and Nobility of the Realm, call'd in *Lewis* the VIII King of *France*, whilst he was *Dolphin*, and Proclaim'd him King? Chusing rather to live under the Ancient Enemies of the *English* Nation, than to Obey King *John* their Natural King, who as *Matthew of Westminster* Writs. Made himself hateful unto them, as well for the Murther of his Nephew *Arthur*, as for his Adulteries, Tyranny, Exactions, and continual Servitude wherein he kept *England*; and lastly, for the War which his demerits procur'd; in respect whereof, he scarce deserv'd to be lamented by any Man. I forbear to alledge many other remarkable Histories to the same purpose, because I esteem it needless in so evident a matter as this.

33. What then shall we say of *Machiavels* pestilent precepts for the preservation of a Prince already infected, and poysn'd with wickedness? Can we say any thing else, then that whilst he, seek's by one poysn to expel or remedy another,

(a) *Polidor. Vergil. in Ioam.*

he doubly poysons himself, and kills himself outright? For a wicked Prince adding, as *Machiavel* advises, wickedness to wickedness, and cruelty to cruelty, draw's hatred upon himself upon hatred, which as I have declar'd, will break out sooner or later to his utter ruin.

34. Neither can the *Machiavellian* help his Masters cause, by saying, that such wicked Princes, as have perish'd by the hatred of Men, have committed some error or other, they shou'd or might have foreseen, and avoided; for I have made it evident throughout this whole Discourse, that the weakness of Man's Wit and Power is such, that no Man living is able to foresee and prevent all dangers and accidents, which in Men's affairs may occur to the overthrow of their designs; which I have evidently prov'd by examples of the absurd errors, as well of the Wisest Senates and Councils, as of most Politick Men. (a) Wher-upon it follow's, that the Prince who exposes himself to the general hatred of Men incurs very great danger.

35. For even as strong Cities, or Fortresles, which have no Enemy near, do, or may commit many errors in matters relating to their defence, without any danger; but being besieg'd by their Enemies, are sometimes surpris'd by occasion of the least oversight or negligence: So it fares with Princes, who, as long as they are generally belov'd, are little or nothing prejudic'd by many errors that happen in their Government, but

being once, as I may term it, besieg'd with the hatred of their Subjects, and Neighbors, they are ruin'd sometimes with the least error, which they or their Magistrates commit; for the hatred of Men when 'tis general, may be compar'd to a swelling Sea, which environing a Ship on every side, sometimes overwhelms it with the impetuosity of Waves, and at other times again enters in at every small chink, and thereby sinks it. So the general hatred of Men, do's in like manner not only overthrow a Princes State, by violent and powerful attempts, but also by taking advantage of every little error, or accident that may help to ruin it. And therefore, forasmuch as the weakness of Man's Wit, and the variety of times, and occasions, produce always some dangerous accidents in the States of Princes, either by their errors, or otherways; whereupon their industrious, and watchful Enemies, especially Domesticks, may take advantage; it follows, that no Prince generally hated can live long in security, be he never so diligent, vigilant, or suspicious of all Men, as *Machiavel* wou'd have his Prince to be.

36. Who cou'd use greater vigilancy, or diligence for his own conservation, or be more suspicious then *Alexander the Tyrant of Phares*? (a) Who thô he lov'd his Wife *Thebes* very dearly, yet never came to her Chamber, but he caus'd both her Coffers, and her self to be searched, to see whether she had any Weapon hid in her

(a) *Cicero de Officiis lib. 2.*

Garments, yet he nevertheless was kill'd by her in the end. Cou'd any Man be more provident for his own safety than was *Claudius* the Emperor? (a) Who wou'd never go to any Banquet, but where his own Guards and Soldiers serv'd at Table, and never Visited any Sick Man, whose Chamber was not before search'd by some of his Guards, even to the very Beds and Bed-straw. And yet he was poyson'd at last by his own Taster, whom he never suspected. What shou'd I say of *Domitian* the Emperor; (b) who was so fearful and suspicious of all Men, that he made the Walls of his Galleries, where he us'd to walk, to be set full of a kind of bright and clear Stone call'd *Phengites*, wherein he might see whatsoever was done behind him. And nevertheless he was Murder'd by his own Chamberlains.

37. Many such other examples might be alledg'd of Princes, who besides their great Guards, and Armies for defence of their persons, us'd also all human diligence, being jealous and suspicious of all Men; and yet nevertheless were over-reach'd, sometimes by those whom they most fear'd, and sometimes by those whom they least suspected, or most trusted. Whereunto I add, what I have also noted elsewhere, and cannot repeat too often, that sometimes the most provident, and Politick Princes, are throu' the weakness of human Wit, overthrown by their own Policies; that is, by the same means, whereby they sought either to benefit themselves, or to hurt and de-

(a) *Sueton. in Claudio.* (b) *Idem in Domitiano.*
stroy

stroy others; as hath sufficiently appear'd by the examples of *Cæsar Borgia* himself, (a) the Admiral *Chastillion* in *France*; *Henry the III King of France*; and divers others, of whom I have spoken before, in several places of this Treatise.

38. But what security can a wicked Prince have by Guards or other human Providence, and diligence? Since we see, that sometimes the Wildest and best garded, being advertis'd of some eminent danger, either have not the good fortune to understand it, or the wit to believe it; so it happen'd to *Julius Cæsar*, (b) who as he was going to the Senate, receiv'd a Memorial, wherein the Conspiracy against him was discover'd; and being desir'd to Read it presently, because it greatly import'd him, was so troubl'd with the pres' and importunity of Petitioners, that he cou'd not attend unto it; and so was kill'd the same Day in the Senate-House. *Archias* also, the Tyrant in *Thebes*, (c) being invited to a Supper, where his Death was Conspir'd, receiv'd a Letter from a friend of his, containing an advice of the Conspiracy, and being desir'd by him that brought it to Read it out of hand, because it concerned so matters of great importance, he answer'd, that there was no time then to negociate such affairs; and so laying it aside, was Slain within two hours after. In like manner *Charles Duke of Burgundy* (d) who as I have declar'd before, was kill'd at *Nancy*, by the Treason of *Campobachio* an Italian

(a) Tom. i. Cha. 3. 4. &c 13. (b) Plutar. in *Iulus Cæsar*. *Iulus Cæsar*. (c) Idem. in *Pelopidas*. (d) Ib. Com. in *Lodovico* ii. c. 83. & 91.

was advertis'd and forewarn'd thereof by *Lewis* the
II King of *France*; nevertheless, persuading him-
self, that his advertisement proceeded either out of
malice to *Champobichio*, or a desire to deprive him
of his most necessary, and trusty Servant, wou'd
not believe it, but lov'd him the better for it;
besides that, one who was privy to the Conspira-
cy being Condemn'd to dy for another matter,
and determining to reveal it to the Duke, there-
by to obtain his Pardon, made sute unto him to
speak with him, promising to advertise him of
somethings, which imported him very much to
know, but the Duke wou'd not be intreated so
much as to hear him, and so the Man was Exe-
cuted, and the Duke Slain within a few Days
after.

39. Now then I wou'd gladly know of *Machia-*
Day, and his followers, what security they can pro-
mise their Prince in extremity of wickedness, see-
ing tis evident by the reasons and examples al-
l from aedg'd, that the extream hatred that great wicked-
Conspirenes draws upon 'em, do's, notwithstanding all
ght in their power and policy, work their destruction by
concerning so many means, as I have declar'd; as by open
Rebellions, or the general Insurrection of a whole
People; by the enterprise of a few, or the at-
tempt of some one Man; by the defection of
Subjects in favor of some Forraign or Domestick
Enemey; by the negligence of Officers, and casu-
ality of all human affairs, and designs; and lastly,
by the errors whereunto all human wit and policy
is subject, which to Princes that are generally be-
lov'd, are nothing so dangerous, by all which
means,

means, the strongest, and most crafty Tyrants, have been overthrown at one time or other.

40. So that the absurdity of *Machiavel*, is most evident in true reason of State, seeing that in Counselling Princes to wickednes and Tyranny, upon confidencee, in human force and policy, he exposes 'em to assur'd danger, and gives 'em no asfur'd or probable remedy, but rather heap's danger upon danger, by encrease of cruelty and all kinds of Tyrannical impiety; insomuch, that it may be sayd to *Machiavels Prince*, as *Diogenes* sayd to a Disciple of his, whom he had forbidden the Tavern; who seeing him one Day running from the Tavern Door, where he stood, into the Tavern to hide himself from him, he call'd unto him saying, *Come back thou Fool, for the farther thou go'st forward, the more thou art in the Tavern:* The same we may say to *Machiavels Prince*, that the farther he proceed's in his dangerous course of wicked Policy, the more he endangers himself, and as the Poët says, *Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim; Seeking to avoid Scylla, he fall's into Charybdis*, or as our English Proverb says, *he leap's out of the Frying-pan, into the Fire.*

41. But put the case that a *Machiavellian*, or wicked Prince, cou'd by *Machiavels Policies* secure his Estate from all Forraign and Domestical danger, yet he wou'd infallibly pay such a grievous Penalty for his wickednes, even in this World, that he wou'd reap neither pleasure nor profit thereby; for such excess of impiety, as *Machiavel* requires in his Prince, is ever accompany'd not only with hatred of Men, and infamy; but also with

ants, with grief and anguish of Mind; infinite suspic-
ions and fears, weary Days, restless Nights, dread-
ful Dreams, and continual torment and horror of
Conscience; and many times with distraction,
madness and despair; as I have before signifi'd,
(a) when I handl'd this Point in the same place,
and therefore will be the briefer here, adding
only two or three Examples I there omitted.

42. The Elder *Denis*, Tyrant of *Sicily*, (b) thô
he Reign'd thirty eight Years in great Wealth,
and Magnificence; yet liv'd in such continual fear,
jealousie, and suspicion of all Men; that he durst
ever trust any Barber to Trim him, but taught
his own Daughters to Shave whilst they were very
young, and when they came to be of riper years,
he wou'd not suffer 'em to use the Razor, but
made 'em burn away the hairs of his Beard with
Walnut-shells, made red hot; and having two
Wives, he always caus'd 'em to be search'd, be-
fore he wou'd come to them; and when he had
occasion to treat any thing with the People, he
spoke to them from the top of a high Tower; and
how miserable his whole Life and State was, he
himself sufficiently declar'd, when *Damocles*, one of
his Flatterers admiring his great Wealth, Domi-
nion, Magnificence, and Majesty, sayd, *That he
thought no Man living more happy than he.* Where-
pon *Denis* ask'd him whether he wou'd try how
happy he was, and take a tast of his felicity; and
then *Damocles* (c) consented to accept his offer, he
wus'd him to be set upon a Sumptuous Bed of State,

(a) Tom. I. Ch. 16. num. 2. 3. 4. 5. & 6.
b) Cicero Tuscul. quest. li. 5. (c) Ibidem.

as the custom was then, richly cover'd; and Cupboards of Plate to be furnish'd with Vessels of Gold and Silver; Tables replenish'd with all kind of delicate Meats; and most beautiful Boys attending upon him; besides that, there was no want of precious Oyntments, and sweet Perfumes, excellent Musick, and whatsoever else might delight his senses; insomuch, that *Damocles* thought himself a most happy Man. But at length, casting up his Eyes, he saw a bright, and sharp Sword hanging by a hair over his head, with the point downward, as *Denis* had ordain'd, which when he saw, he had no more pleasure in beholding his beautiful Attendants, and rich Furniture; nor to Eat of his dainties; nor to hear any Musick; but desir'd the Tyrant to give him leave to be gone, for he wou'd be no longer happy. Thus did *Denis* very well express the infelicity and misery of wicked Tyrants; how Splendid, Powerful, or Magnificent soever they may seem to be.

42. I omit to speak of the Emperors *New Claudius* and *Demitian*; and of King *Alfonsus of Naples*, of whom I have spoken before; (and shall only touch the wretched state of King *Richard the III*, after he had Murder'd his Nephews which Sir *Thomas Moor* describes as follows in the Story of his Life. I have heard, says he, by the credible report of such as were intimate with his Chamberlains, that after this abominable fact, he never enjoy'd a quiet Mind, he never thought himself secure when he went abroad he cast his Eyes every where,

Body was privately Arm'd, his Hand was ever upon his Dagger, his Countenance and Behaviour, like one always ready to strike: He took no rest at Nights; lay long awake musing, much weary'd with care, and watching, and rather slumber'd then slept, he was troubl'd with fearful Dreams, he sometimes suddenly started up, leap'd out of his Bed, and ran about the Chamber; thus his restless Heart was toss'd, and perplex'd with the sad impression, and disquiet remembrance of his abominable fact.

44. Whereby we may see that Plutarch had great reason to say, that *Wickedness* is of it self sufficient to make a Man miserable; and that wicked Men the longer they live, the more miserable they are; and that the Doleful and Tragical ends which most Tyrants have, cannot be so properly counted the temporal punishment due to their wickedness in this Life, as the consummation and end thereof. Wherefore I conclude, that thô there were no Human or Divine punishment to be fear'd for wickedness; nor any danger to follow it in a Princes State, nor any Hell or Heaven after this Life, yet this continual torment and anguish of Mind, this Hell and horror of Conscience, were enough to make all Princes detest, and abhor the abominable precepts of Machiavel, who wou'd persuade Princes to serve their States by wickedness.

45. But perhaps the *Machiavellians* will say here, in defence of their Masters Doctrin, that thô it wou'd not be amiss for those who come justly, and lawfully to Sovereignty by Succession, or Election, to procure the Love and good Will of all Men, by their Virtuous and Just Govern-

ment, yet a Prince who com's to his State by Intrusion, Usurpation and Injustice; as by Murders and other mischiefs, to the prejudice of the right Heirs, or Owners thereof, cannot hope to conserve and maintain himself therein by Vertue and Justice, or by the Love of the People, whose hatred he has already incur'd, but by force and fear, and by the continuance of wickedness and Tyranny; which *Cicero* may seem to have insinuated in *Denis the Tyrant of Sicily*, of whom he says, (a) that *salvus esse non posset, si sanus esse capisset*. *He cou'd not have been safe, if he had begun to be sound*; that is to say, he cou'd not have been secure, if he had become Just and Vertuous. Which *Solon* (b) also the Wise *Athenian*, seem's to signifie of all Tyrants; for when he was mov'd by his Friends to make himself Tyrant of *Athens*, with intention to Govern well and justly afterwards, he refus'd it saying, that *Tyranny is like to a Laberinth, which has no Issue of it*. Meaning, as it may seem, that a Tyrant cannot with his security, return from wickedness to Vertue, but that he must proceed, and go on in Impiety, and Tyranny; having as it were, a Wolf by the Ears, whom if he lets go, he sets upon himself. Thus says the *Machiavellians*, or at least may say, for I am content to plead their Cause for 'em.

46. For the satisfaction hereof, 'tis to be consider'd, that *Cicero* and *Solon* sayd what is above mention'd, not because they thought that the way and passage from Vice to Vertue is not open

(a) *Cicero Tuscul. quæst. lib. 5.* (b) *Plutarch in Solon.*

as well for Tyrants, as for other Men; but to
signifie the malignity of their Natures, and their
miserable State; because Tyrants are commonly of
so vile, malign and beastly natures, that 'tis sel-
dom seen that any of 'em come to embrace Ver-
tue: In which respect *Cicero* thought Tyrants to
be most miserable. Moreover, *Solon* being most
Wise, and Prudent, was not ignorant that as the
Proverb says, *Honores mutant mores*; *Honors change
manners*; and therefore he greatly fear'd, that if
he shou'd once give way to Ambition, and violate
Justice by the oppression of the Common-wealth,
he shou'd hardly ever after repair the wrack of his
own Conscience. For whosoever looses, as I may
term it, the Anchor of integrity, and suffers him-
self to be so far carry'd away with the Wind of
Ambition, that he runs the Ship of Conscience,
against the Rocks of Tyranny, let him not won-
der if he makes an irreparable Shipwreck, of all
Justice and Vertue. Nevertheless, if a Prince
that has got a Crown or State unjustly, holds such
a Vertuous course, that he converts his Tyranny
into a Regal and Just Government, 'tis evident,
both by reason and experience, that thô he holds
not his ill gotten State lawfully, yet he shall pos-
sess it with far less danger, and much more
security.

47. And this is conformable not only to the
Opinion and Doctrin of *Aristotle*, as I have before
declar'd in this Chapter, (a) but also of *Plato*,
(b) who Counsell'd the two Tyrants of *Sicily*

(a) Num. 8. & 9. (b) *Plutar.* in *Dion.*

call'd *Denis*, the Father and the Son, to change their Tyrannical course into a just manner of Government; assuring 'em that they cou'd not otherwise long conserve and secure their States; lest The truth whereof sufficiently appear'd, as well by the miserable Life of the Father, of whom Fie have lately spoken, as also by the ignominious banishment, and unfortunate end of the Son; Whom *Dion* with very small Forces cast out of his Kingdom; by reason that he was hated and forsaken of all his Subjects; whereas divers other Tyrants, of other Countries, changing their course of Tyranny, to a Just and Virtuous Government, liv'd and Reign'd no less glorious than securely.

48. Such a one was *Anaxilaus* Tyrant of Sicily, of whom *Justin* Writ's thus. Anaxilaus who w^t Patri one of the Tyrants, did by his Justice and Virtue test strive to surpass the Cruelty, and Impiety of others, which wrought a wonderful effect, for when he Di^rsors, and left his Children very Young, in the Tuition of *Garr* Nicithus a Slave of his, whom he dearly lov'd & lost his Fidelity, such was the love that all his Subjects cont bore unto the memory of him, that they chose rather to Obey his Slave, than to forsake his Children, & were all his Nobility forgetting their Dignity, and the M^t never jesty of their Kingdom, offer'd themselves to be easie overv'n'd by a Slave. Plutarch also testifies, (a) that Hieron and Gelon, Tyrants of Sicily, and Pifistratus the Son of Hippocrates having most wickedly possesst themselves of their States, did nevertheless

(a) Plutar. de sera, num. Vindict. Hieron. Gelon. Pifistratus.

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ange Govern afterwards with such Moderation, Justice, and Equity, that they became very popular among Princes; as also, that *Lidiades* (*a*) the Tyrant, restor'd to his Subjects their Old Laws, and well Priviledges, and afterwards dy'd gloriously in the Field in defence of his Country.

49. In like manner, *Augustus Cæsar* (*b*) after he had opprest his Common-wealth by force of Armes, and us'd such Cruelty for many Years together, that he was hated of all Men, insomuch, that he cou'd neither Eat, Drink, nor Sleep in quiet for fear of Conspiracies; chang'd his course Go by the Counsel of his Friends, and gave himself wholly to the exercise of Virtue, Piety, and Justice; whereby he was at length exceedingly beloved of all his Subjects, and esteem'd to be *Pater Patriæ*, *The Father of his Country*. And pass'd the rest of his Life in no less security, than honor and felicity. Whereas very many of his Successors, trusting partly to the strength of their Guards, Garrisons, and Armies; and partly to their Policies; did lost their Honor, Empire, and Lives by the continuance of cruelty, and wickedness: Whereby it appears, that according to the Latin Proverb. *Nunquam sera est ad bonos mores via*; 'Tis never too late to be good; and that 'tis not only easie, but also most secure for a Tyrannical Prince to pass from Cruelty to Clemency, from Vice to Virtue, and from Tyranny to Justice and Piety.

(*a*) *Lidiades*. (*b*) *Dion, in Augusto. Augustus Cæsar.*

50. But do you, say the *Machiavellians*, count it Wisdom for a Prince, so to confide in Justice, and Vertue, that he trust those whom he has once injur'd, or that he thinks himself secure from 'em so long as they live, seeing that according to the *Italian Proverb*. *Chi offend non perdona mai*; *He who offends*, that is to say, *he who do's the injury, never pardons*, and much less he who receives it?

51. To which I answer, that I grant to the *Machiavellian*, that his Tyrant shou'd never repose so great confidence in any reconcil'd Enemy, as to put his Life or State into his hands; to which purpose I have shew'd in the beginning of the First Treatise, (a) how the *Wisdom of the Serpent, is to be conjoyn'd with the simplicity of the Dove*, (b) in pardoning and loving our Enemies, and yet in being wary and circumspect how we trust 'em, but that which I require of a Tyrant for his security, is, that he ceases to heap Coal upon his own Head, by a continuance and encrease of Injustice, Cruelty, and Tyranny; and that he labor by all convenient means, to pacifie the exasperated minds of those whom he has offended, not only with Words, but also with Deeds, compensing injuries with benefits, and disgrace with favors, cruelty, and severity with clemency, benignity and affability; doing Justice to all Men, and shewing himself to have a particular care of the Common-wealth, by preferring the Publick good before his own private pleasure, or commo-

(a) Tom. 1. Chap. 3. nn. 10. (b) Matth. 10. 16
dity

duty, by being the Patron, and Protector of Virtue, the Punisher of Vice, a Refuge to the Poor and Afflicted, and finally a common Father to all: Whereby he will purchase to himself the general and universal Love of all; and either extinguish the hatred of those whom he had wrong'd, and offended; or at least so temper and mitigate the same, that 'twill be much less dangerous for him, when all Men generally Honor and Love him.

52. Moreover, I allow not only to a reform'd Tyrant, but also to the most lawful and best Prince living, all lawful means of defence, as strong Guards, Garrisons, Armies, Fortresses, the Vigilance of Counsellors and Magistrates, the diligence of Spyes and all other lawful Policies; all which concurring with the Vertuous, and Just Government of a Prince, and being fortifi'd with the general love of his People, which Virtue and Justice procur'd, will yield him the greatest assurance, and security that can be had by any human means.

53. But perhaps the *Machiavellians* will yet reply, and say, that for all this, I render not the reform'd Tyrant, no nor any other lawful Prince secure; for thô he shall be never so well, or never so generally belov'd, yet, as I have already prov'd some one Man offended, may notwithstanding all his force and lawful Policies, take revenge upon his person, and therefore the only remedy for the Prince, say they, in that case, woud be to cut off by some means or other, all such as he may think likely to seek revenge, or to be any way

way dangerous to his State; for as *Theodotus* sayd to *Ptolomeus* King of *Egypt*, when he Counsell'd him to kill *Pompey*, *Mortui non mordent; Dead Men bite not.*

54. But what need the Dead bite him, when not only his own Conscience shall bite and sting him, as I have before signifi'd, (*a*) but also there will be Men left alive to seek revenge; as their Children, if they have any, or their Kindred, Servants and Friends; as for example, *Erotho* King of *Denmark* the Fifth of that Name, (*b*) caus'd his own Brother to be Murder'd, and after kill'd the Murderer, lest he might reveal it; for which he was smother'd with Smoke by his Brothers Children. (*c*) *Valentinian* the third Emperor of that Name, having ungratfully kill'd the famous Captain *Aetius* with his own Hand, was kill'd by two Soldiers of *Aetius*, in revenge thereof. (*d*) Also *Amurates* Emperor of the *Turks*, the first of that Name, was Slain with a Dagger by a Servant of *Lascarus*, the *Despota*, or Lord of *Servia*, for revenge of his Lord and Masters Death; notwithstanding that *Amurates*, as *Paulus Iovius* reports, (*e*) was one of the most crafty and vigilant Princes that the *Turks* ever had.

55. But amongst all those who have sought to secure their States by Murders, none ever ex-

(*a*) *Num. 41. 42. 43. & 44.* (*b*) *Olaus Mag. li. 8. ca. 36.* (*c*) *Saxo gram. lib. 7. Paul. Diacon. lib. 15.* (*d*) *Cassiodor. Chron. an. 454. c. & 455.* (*e*) *Eusagri li. 2. 7. Paul. Iovius in Amurate.*

ceeded *Andronicus Comnenus* Emperor of *Constantinople*, (a) who as I have before declar'd, (b) us'd to condemn and extirpate whole Families, for the suspicion which he had sometimes of some one Man; thereby to free himself from all fear of revenge; (c) which nevertheless was reveng'd upon him most notoriously, not only by the friends and well-willers of the Dead, but also by all the People; such being the horror of injustice, and cruelty, that it do's not only offend those which are injur'd, but also all other Men; and therefore it has been often seen, that Subjects have made attempts against the State or Person of a Prince, for the hatred of some Murder, or some Cruel Act. *Justin* Writes, (d) that when *Seleucus* King of *Syria* began his Government with the Murder of *Berevise* his Step-Mother, and of her Son his own Brother; all the Cities which were subject to him in *Asia*, *Exempli crudelitatis territa;* Being frighted with this example of Cruelty; suddenly revolted from him, and yielded themselves to the Obedience of *Ptolomeus* King of *Egypt*; *Tantum illi odium*, says *Justin*, *paricidiale scelus attulerat*; So great was the hatred his wicked and parricidal Act, caus'd in his Subjects towards him. But what need I alledge old Examples for this matter, seeing we have one of later date, whereof I have had occasion to speak divers times; that is, the lamentable ruin of *Henry the III.* King of *France*, who persuading himself, that Dead Men bite not,

(a) *Idem.* (b) *Ibidem.* (c) *Nicetas Choniat in Andronico Comneno, lib. 2.* (d) *Justin, li. 37.*
thought

thought it most secure for him to Kill the Cardinal, and Duke of *Guise*, which was reveng'd, as I have before signifi'd, not only upon his State, by the greatest part of his Subjects, who present-ly upon the News thereof, took Armes against him; but also upon his Person, by one, who was not any way dependant of the *Guises*, nor ever had receiv'd any injury in his whole Life from him; so unsecure and dangerous is the remedy of dangers, by Murder and Cruelty; that the danger is many times encreas'd and redoubl'd there-by. And therefore *Seneca* says very well, Cruelty represses the Malice of few, and incenses, and kindles the hatred of all, and *As the cropping of a Tree, says he, increases the Boughs, so a cruel Prince, by cutting off his Enemies do's multiply them.*

56. But now, the Polititian may ask me here, whether I, who inculcate so often the danger of wicked Policy, can so secure a Princes State by Virtue and Justice, that the same shall not be subject to any danger or inconvenience? Whereunto I answer, that thô such is the natural infir-mity of Man's state and condition, and so infinite the hazards and inconveniences whereunto he is subject, and such also the malice of ill Men, that no Human Force or Policy can warrant the best Prince living, from all dangers incident to his Person or State; yet all the assurance and security which any Prince can possibly have of the one or the other, by Human means, is to be attain'd principally by Virtue, Justice, and such Policies as are grounded thereupon; and not by injustice, impiety and wicked Policy; for whereas the justest

Prince

Prince may have some one, or a few Enemies, who may endanger him, yet the wicked must needs have many; and the more wicked and cruel he is, the more Enemies he will have, and consequently the greater will be his danger; for if a Prince cannot be secure from one Enemy, or from a few, he will be much less secure from many; and least of all from the general hatred of all Men; which infallibly springs from such excessive cruelty and wickedness as *Machiavell* requires in his Prince.

57. Therefore, forasmuch as 'tis the part of all Wise Men, especially in matters of State, to chuse the least of all dangers or inconveniences, which cannot be remedy'd; and to seek, prevent and avoid the worst, as I have sufficiently declar'd in my Rules for Young Statists, (a) 'tis also evident, that as nothing is more dangerous to Princes and their States than injustice and wickedness, which makes 'em odious to all Men, so nothing is more to be avoided by them, than the same; and that the contrary means of Justice and Vertue is to be embrac'd and practis'd; whereby they may purchase the general Love of their Subjects, in which consists the greatest security of Princes: Such being the force and effect of Love, that it causes in the Lovers, as great a care of the beloved, as of themselves; in which respect, *Seneca* says, *Vnum est inexpugnabile munimentum amor civium; The only impregnable Fortress of Princes, is the love of their Subjects.*

(a) Tom. 2. Chap. 4. §§ 10. 11. 12.

58. And

58. And this is so manifest, that *Machiavel* himself do's sufficiently acknowledge it, teaching that the excellency of vertue may conserve a Princes State, thô he also most absurdly attributes the like force and effect to wickedness; which truly may be wonder'd at, if we consider that he being well Read in Histories, cou'd not but see, if he were not wilfully blind, that all such Tyrants as have been infamous for their excessive cruelty and wickedness, have one way or other miserably perish'd, which has been observ'd in all Ages; and therefore *Cicero* speaking of the violent Death of a Tyrant says, *Haud fere quisquam eorum similem iteritum effugit*; There is scarce any one Tyrant to be found, that escapes the like destruction. Whereupon also the Tragical Poët says, (a) --- *Quota pars moritur tempore fati?* *Quos felices Cinthia vidit?* *Vidit miseros abitura dies,* *Rarum est felix idemque senex.* How few of 'em live out the course of Nature, 'tis a rare thing to see any of 'em Old and Happy; whereof also another Poët says thus. ----- *Sine cæde & sanguine, pauci Descendunt reges, & sicca morte Tyranni;* Few Tyrants Die a Natural Death, or without Blood; which *Machiavel* might have noted, if not out of other Histories, yet at least out of *Titus Livius*, (b) upon whom he made certain discourses, for of Seven Kings of Rome from *Romulus* to *Tarquinus superbus*, Four who got their States, or at least Govern'd 'em Tyrannically, were Three of 'em Kill'd, and the other Banish'd, as I have observ'd before

(a) *Seneca.* (b) *Tit. Livius Dec. 1, li. 1.*

in Romulus, *Lucius Tarquinius*, *Servius Tullius*, and *Tarquinius superbus*, (a) whereas the other three, *Numa Pompilius*, *Tullus Hostilius*, and *Ancus Martius*, who were lawfully Elected by the Senate, and Govern'd Justly and Vertuously, liv'd in security, and dy'd very well belov'd, and lamented by the People. The like might be observ'd in the Roman Emperors after *Julius Cæsar*, if it were needful.

59. But that which seems to me most strange in *Machiavel*, is, that he cou'd not see the experience thereof, at least in *Cæsar Borgia*, whom as I have often before signifi'd, he proposes to his Prince for a Mirror of Tyrannical Policy, notwithstanding that the success thereof was such in him, that all Princes may learn thereby to detest it; seeing he who in *Machiavels* opinion, (b) was most exact in the Speculation and Practice thereof, was utterly overthrown thereby, as well as all other Tyrants of former times; which cannot be attributed to Chance, as the Polititians wou'd have it, but either to the Just Judgments of God upon wicked Men, whch is indeed the principal cause thereof, as I will declare in the next Chapter, or at least to the next and immediate cause, which for the most part is the hatred of Men. And therefore seeing the miserable end of wicked Tyrants, not only has such notorious and known Causes, but also is so frequent and common, that it has been always held for a matter of common experience; it cannot be referr'd to Chance or Fortune, which are understood to

(a) *Supra* n. 26. (b) *Guicciard.* li. 6.

be in such things only, as happen seldom, and have no known, and ordinary cause, as I have before declar'd: (a) So that it may rather be counted casual, or a matter of Chance, if any notable Tyrant comes to a good end; because the same hath been seldom seen, and the cause thereof secret, or at least uncertain.

60. Wherefore I conclude that *Machiavel* cannot be excus'd, either of gross ignorance, if he knew not, as common experience teaches, that wicked Tyrants do commonly perish miserably; or of extream malice, if he knew it, and yet labord to induce Princes to wickedness and Tyranny. The later whereof, is now sufficiently acknowledg'd by some *Florentines* of no mean Judgments, his own Country Men and Friends; who in their ordinary discourses, concerning his Policies, do not stick to confess, that he himself knew them to be contrary to true reason of State, and pernicious to Princes; and that nevertheless desiring the overthrow of the Dukes of *Florence*, and of their Monarchy, he publish'd his pestilent Doctrin, hoping so to corrupt 'em therewith, that they shou'd ruin themselves by the practice thereof, whereby the State of *Florence* might return to the old Democracy, or popular Government, wherein it had continu'd many Years before. Thus says his Friends; but how they defend him therein, excusing him of folly, and accusing him of malicious impiety, as well in regard of all other Princes, as of *Cosmo* Duke of *Florence*,

(a) Tom. 1. Chap. 11. nu. 6. 7.

whose

whose Servant and Secretary he was, I leave it to the Judgment of the discreet Reader. And this shall suffice for the examination of *Machiavellian Policies*, only by reason of State; whereunto I will in the next Chapter, add the consideration of God's Justice, for the farther confutation thereof.

C H A P. VII.

The Argument of the precedent Chapter is prosecuted, with the consideration of God's Justice in punishing wicked Princes, by the Ministry of all his Creatures, where also something is sayd of the Enormity of Murder, and of God's severe punishment thereof.

IN the last Chapter I have shew'd the absurdity of *Machiavellian Policies*, only by reason of State, (a) and now for the farther manifestation thereof, I will add in this, the consideration of God's Providence in the disposition of Kingdoms, and of his Justice in punishing wickedness in all Men, and particularly in Princes; whereof I have lay'd the foundation before, (b) having clearly prov'd that all States,

(a) Tom. 2. (cap. 17. per totum. (b) Ibid. nro. 4. s. 6. G' 7.

and Kingdoms, are very particularly directed, govern'd, and dispos'd by the Providence of God; which I have made manifest, not only by the accomplishment of Daniels Prophecy's, (a) concerning the Translation of the Empire of the World, from one Nation to another; but also by notorious examples of God's Justice in punishing whole Common-wealths, Kingdoms, and States, for the Sins, sometimes of the Princes, sometimes of the People, and sometimes of both: And finally, I have declar'd, (b) as well by reason, and by the Authority of the most Learn'd and Famous Philosophers, as also by very many examples, that all true Wisdom and Policy is from God, and that all the Perfection thereof proceeds from his Grace; and also that the wisest Worldlings, and most Politick Governors, without the same, do commit infinite Errors, and go as 'twere, groping in the dark, in matters that concern as well their private, as publick affairs.

2. But I have already shew'd all this at large, (c) and therefore need not repeat it here, but only draw this infallible conclusion, from what has been sayd before, that all *Machiavellian* or wicked Policies, are against true reason of State, and most pernicious both to Princes, and their States; for if all States depend upon the Providence of God, and are at his disposition; if they be giv'n, conserv'd, increas'd, punish'd, translated, or destroy'd, by his ordination; as I have

(a) Dan. 2. (b) Tom. 1. chap. 18. 19. 20. 21. &c.
(c) Tom. 1. chap. 28. num. 19. 20. 21. &c. & num. 6. 36. 35. *Ibidem* num. 17.

clearly prov'd they are; and lastly, if all true Wisdom, and Policy be from God; it must needs follow, that no act can be truly Wise and Political, which is offensive to God; nor any thing good for a State, or conformable to true realons of State, which can provoke the wrath and punishment of God, upon whose Will all States depend: Whereupon it also follows, that not so much as a Venial Sin, I mean the least that may be committed, and much less such horrible Crimes as *Machiavel* allow's in his Prince, can be grounded upon true reason of State, thô by God's permission, they may be beneficial to it, whereof I shall say something hereafter. (a)

3. In the mean time I will here prosecute the former Argument a little farther, drawn from the consideration of God's Justice, whereby 'twill be more clear than the Sun, that wicked Policy cannot secure, but utterly destroys the States of Princes; and forasmuch as I treated of this point in the last Chapter, examining *Machiavels* Doctrine, only by reasons of State, where I ascrib'd the overthrow of wicked Princes to the hatred of Men, this being for the most part, one of the most ordinary causes thereof; therefore I here affirm, that neither hatred, contempt, ambition, nor any other passion of Man, or human means whatsoever, whereby wicked Princes may be overthrown, are any other than secondary, and inferior causes thereof; because the first and principal cause is the Justice of God; who for the punishment of the Sins of Men, serves himself, not

(a) Tom. 2. chap. 8. num. 26. & 27.

only of Men, but also of Angels, and other Spirits, good and bad; of all living and sensible Creatures; of the Elements and all Elementary things, as 'tis signifi'd in *Ecclesiasticus*; (a) where we Read, that *There are Spirits Created for revenge, or punishment of Sin*; and again, (b) *Fire, Hail, Famine, and Death*, all these things are *Created for Man's punishment, the Teeth of Beasts and Scorpions, and Serpents, and the revenging Sword prepar'd for the utter extirpation of the wicked*. Thus says the Preacher concerning the Ministry of all Creatures in the punishment of the wicked, which the Wise Man also declares when he says, (c) *Thy Creatures, O Lord, serving thee their Creator, are incens'd with fury, for the torment of the unjust*.

4. This is so evident by the experience of all Ages, that 'twill be needless for me to lay down any particular examples thereof; and therefore I omit to speak of the general Deluge (d) in the time of Noe; of the burning of Sodom and Gomora (e) with Fire from Heaven; of the Plagues of Egypt (f) by Frog's, Fly's, and Locusts; and of infinite Innundations, Burnings, Tempests, Pestilences, Famin's, and Earth-quakes, whereby whole Cities, Provinces and Countries have been destroy'd for Sin; God using the Ministry of his Creatures of all sorts, for the punishment thereof; all which I omit as needless, and will declare how differently God uses the Ministry of Man for the punishment of Sin; whereof I

(a) *Eccle. ca. 39. 31.* (b) *Ibid. 35.* (c) *Sap. 16. 24.* (d) *Genes. 7.* (e) *Ibid. 19.* (f) *Exod. 7. 8. 9. &c. 10.*

will first speak in general, and afterwards exemplifie it particularly in wicked Princes.

5. The ordinary Ministers of God's Justice, upon evil Men, are Kings and Princes, or such others, as punish Malefactors by their Authority, in which respect the Apostle says, that the Prince.

(a) *Do's not carry his Sword in vain, or without cause: for he is the Minister of God to punish in wrath him that do's evil;* nevertheless, private Men are sometimes also the Ministers of God's Justice upon other Men, either mov'd thereunto with the Zeal of God's Glory, as Phinees was, (b) who Kill'd the *Israelite* that committed Fornication with the *Madianite*; or else by meer accident, and chance, as it appears in *Exodus*; (c) where the Law of God ordain'd, that he who shou'd commit wilful Murder, shou'd be punish'd with Death, but he that shou'd by chance, or against his Will Kill a Man, whom God of his secret Judgments shou'd give into his hands (as the Scripture gives us to understand). such a one shou'd have Sanctuary for his Refuge; whereby we may see that God makes some casually the Ministers of his Justice, against their Wills; as sometimes also others in doing their own business are unwittingly his Instruments, even whilst they follow their own affairs, not meaning to do God any Service therein, as I have before noted (d) of *Sennacherib* King of the *Affyrians*, whom God call'd in the Prophet *Isay*, (e) *The Rod of his Wrath*, and compar'd him to *an Ax, or a Saw*, which Men use

(a) Rom. 13, 4. (b) Num. 25, 7. (c) Exod. 21.
(d) Tom. 1, cap. 2, nu. 17. (e) Isay. 10, 5.

for their service; because he meant to punish the Jews by him, whilst he thought nothing of it: And as I have also noted of Nabuchodonozor King of Babylon, (a) who executed God's Justice upon the people of Tyrus, when he took and destroy'd their City, either for revenge of some injury, or to increase his Dominions.

6. Where by the way 'tis to be noted, that God do's not ordinarily use to stir up and move Princes or other Men to execute his Justice by Revelations, or manifest Inspirations, or by the Voice of some Prophet; but by such a secret operation, that it do's not appear to be his work: Which is signifi'd by *Isay*, who Prophecying of the Invasion of Jerusalem by the King's of Assyria and Egypt, says, (b) *Our Lord will whistle to the Fly in the utmost part of the Rivers of Egypt, and to the Bee of Aslyria*, giving to understand, that he wou'd secretly move the King's of those Countries, to make War against Jerusalem. The same may also be sayd of the Innundations of Barbarous people, as of the Goths, Vandals, Hunns, and such like, which have at divers times over flow'd Christendom, who were no doubt the Ministers of God's Justice, for the punishment of Sin: In which respect *Attila* the Hunn, (c) and the great *Tamberlain* (d) were call'd, the one *Flagellum Dei, The Scourge of God*, and the other *Ira Dei, The Wrath of God*, thô they had no other intention but to satisfie their own Ambition. So it may also be sayd of all the Wars amongst

(a) Ezechiel, cap. 29. 13. (b) Isa. 7. 18. (c) Baron. an. 451. (d) Paul, Diacon. lib. 15.

Princes, (a) whatsoever their Quarrels are; whereby they execute God's Justice in punishing the Sins of the people, thô they intend no such matter. And the most wicked'ſt Man that is, when he Spoil's, Rob's, Ransack's, and Murders others, is also the Instrument, and Minister of God's Justice; whose infinite Wisdom, and Providence has so ordain'd, that whilst wicked Men seek to satisfie their unbridl'd Appetit's, and Desires, they exact the penalty of other Men's Sins; it being most consonant to equity, and justice, that as one Sin is many times the pain, and punishment of another; so one Sinner shou'd punish another; and that Sinners shou'd also execute Justice upon themselves; sometimes willingly, as we see in such as wilfully make away with themselves; and sometimes against their Will's, either Killing themselves by chance, or overthrowing themselves by their own devises, and policies; in all which God's Providence and Justice strangely appears: For seeing that Man, with all the parts of his Body, and powers of his Soul, was principally ordain'd for God's Service; therefore when he employs himself, his parts and abilities in offending God, 'tis most just that God employs them and himself also, to his punishment, which turn's also to God's Service; who by that means is serv'd, and glorifi'd by his very Enemies, thô not in such a manner as they shou'd, yet always in such sort, as his Divine Wisdom sees it convenient.

(a) Naucler, in Chron. anno. 1400.

7. To which purpose I wish also, that all wou'd observe, that thô wicked Men, are the Ministers and Instruments of God's Justice upon Sinners, yet 'tis not either when, or where, or how they will; but in such time, place, manner, and measure, as it pleases God to permit 'em. Which I say the rather; because *Machiavel* seem's to imagine, that if *John Paul Baglione* (*a*) Tyrant of *Perugia* had been, as he term's it, *Magnanimamente Scelerato*; *Couragiouſly wicked*; he wou'd, or might have Kill'd Pope *Julius* the II. when upon Composition between 'em, the said Pope put himself into his Hands, and came to *Perugia* without any Forces, or sufficient Guards of his own: Wherein *Machiavel* shew's himself no less absurd, than impicully ignorant of the course, and power of God's Providence; and of the infirmity of Man; or rather his impossibility, to execute his own designs farther, than God permits him: Which it pleases Almighty God to shew sometimes most evidently, to the end we may acknowledge the same in all other occasions. And this may be noted not only in the Holy Scriptures, in the delivery of (*b*) *Joseph* from his Brethren; of (*c*) *David* from *Saul*; of (*d*) *Mardocheus* from *Aman*; of (*e*) *Susanna* from the Judges; of the (*f*) three Children from *Nabuchodonozor*; and of (*g*) Saint *Peter* from *Herod*: But also in prophane Histories, as will appear by the two or three following Examples.

(*a*) *Machi. in princ.* (*b*; Genes. 37. (*c*) 1 Reg. 18. 19. &c. (*d*) Hebr. 1. 5. 6. & 7. (*e*) Daniel 3. (*f*, Ibid. ca. 3. (*g*) Act. 12.

8. The

8. The Emperor *Anastasius* having discover'd a Conspiracy against his State and Person, not long before he Dy'd, caus'd divers of the Conspirators to be apprehended, amongst whom were two principal Men, call'd *Justinus* and *Justinian*; (a) and having commanded 'em with divers others to be Executed, there appear'd unto him in his Sleep in the Night, a terrible Old Man, commanding him to spare 'em both; because they were one Day to do God Service: Whereupon he pardon'd and releas'd 'em, and after his Death *Justinus* was his next Successor in the Empire, chosen by the Soldiers, thô very basely Born, and having been a Drover, or as some Write, a Swine-herd; and next after him succeeded *Justinian*: (b) So that 'twas evident, first by the Apparition, and afterwards by the effect, that God deliver'd 'em from the Hands of *Anastasius*; because he had design'd 'em to be Emperors.

9. The like may be sayd of *Michael Balbus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, who most strangely escap'd the Hands of the Emperor *Leo Armenus*, and Succeeded him in the Empire. The Story is thus, *Michael Balbus* being of great Authority in the time of *Leo*, Conspir'd against him, and the Conspiracy being detected, he was taken, examin'd, convicted, and condemn'd to be Burnt; the Fire was made, he led to his Execution, and *Leo* himself follow'd to see it perform'd; either because he trusted not his Officers, or to satisfie his revengeful mind, with the sight of the miser-

(a) *Zonat. Anal. To. 1.* (b) *Ibidem.*

able

able end and torment of his Enemy. (a) But it so fell out, that this being done upon *Christmas* Eve, the Empress his Wife came to him, as he was going, and chid him bitterly for having no more respect to the Solemnity of the Feast; desiring of him only to suspend the Execution for one Day, until the Day after the Feast; which at length he granted, yet so much against his Will, that he sayd unto her, he fear'd that she, and her Children wou'd repent it; his own Heart foretelling him, as it seem'd, the danger that hung over him; and the rather, because he had been long before advertis'd, either by some Prophetick, or Magical Prediction, that he shou'd be Kill'd upon a *Christmas* Day. And therefore to make himself sure of *Michael Balbus*, whom he most fear'd, he wou'd not commit him to any Prison, but deliver'd him to one *Papias*, whom he most of all trusted; and caus'd him to be fetter'd with certain huge Bolts of Iron, lock'd with a Key which he kept himself, and for greater security he went himself in person the same Night to Visit the House of *Papias* where *Michael* was Lodg'd.

10. But see here the disposition of God's Providence, for the delivery of *Michael*, and the punishment of *Leo*; this *Papias* was one of *Michaels* Confederates in his Conspiracy, and therefore having now both of 'em this opportunity to Consult together, they resolv'd to procure the Emperors Death without any farther delay; and to that

(a) *Zonar. An. To. 3. in Michael Balbo.*

purpose

purpose, sent presently to the other Conspirators, who were not yet discover'd, and threaten'd to discover 'em, if they wou'd not attempt to Kill the Emperor out of hand; representing unto 'em the facility to do it the next Morning before Day, when he shou'd be in the Church at *Matins*, which they allow'd and executed; and *Michael* was the very same Day, Proclaim'd and Crown'd Emperor, in the same Church where *Leo* was Kill'd.

11. But now the *Machiavellians* may say, that the Emperor play'd the Fool, in sparing him at his Wives request; I grant this to be true, yet such a Fool wou'd *Machiavel* himself, or any Man else have been, if he had attempted to do any thing contrary to the Will of God, as *Leo* did in this case: Which I affirm, not only because the strange effects shew'd it, but also because it otherwise sufficiently appears, that God had determin'd that *Michael Balbus* shou'd be Emperor. For many Years before, when *Leo* and he were both of 'em private Men, and Servants to the Duke, or Great Captain *Bardanes*, (a) it chanc'd that their Lord and Master aspiring to the Empire, went to a Holy Man, who was esteem'd to have the Spirit of Prophecy, and ask'd him whether he shou'd not in time be Emperor; the Holy Man told him, that if he attempted it, he shou'd loose both his labor and his Eyes; and afterwards seeing *Leo*, and *Michael Balbus* bring him his Horse at his departure, he took him aside, and told him, that God wou'd not

(a) *Zonar. Ann. To. 3. in Leo Armenio.*

give him the Empire, but that those two, who brought him his Horse, shou'd be Emperors, the one after the other.

12. *Bardanes* contemning his Prediction, attempted to make himself Emperor, and failing of his purpose, had his Eyes put out, and was spoil'd of all he had ; and some Years after, (a) *Leo* being advanc'd to the Service of the Emperor *Michael Rangabe*, and General under him, of great part of his Army against the *Thracians*, found means to make the Emperor so hateful, and himself so grateful to the Soldiers, that he easily made himself Emperor with the help of *Michael Balbus*, who was a Colopel at the same time under him, and in great credit with the Soldiers : So that there wanted no more for the accomplishment of the Prophecy, but that *Michael Balbus* shou'd Succeed *Leo*, which he also did, as I have declar'd.

13. Wherefore in this Example, divers wonderful things may be observ'd, besides that which I principally intended. The first is, the infirmity of Man's Wit, who when he thinks many times to take the surest way, do's soonest overthrow himself, as *Leo* did, in making choice of *Papias* to be the Jailer of *Michael Balbus*, whereby he sav'd *Michael's* Life, and lost his own.

14. The second is, the great Justice of God in the punishment of the Tyranny of *Leo*, who having unjustly and Tyrannically got and Govern'd the Empire, lost it again with his Life, by the like means.

(a) *Zonar. Ibid.*

15. The

15. The third is the course of God's Providence in the execution of his Just Judgments, turning the endeavours of wicked Men to his own Service and Glory, and to their punishment; serving himself not only of their best Friends, as he did here of the Empress, for the overthrow of her Husband, thô against her Will, but also of themselves, and of their own Wits, and Policies. Wherein God's Justice greatly appears; for as the Psalmist says, (a) *Our Lord shall be known by executing his judgments*, and then declaring how and wherein, he adds; *The sinner is overtaken in the works of his own Hands*; giving us to understand, that the Justice of God appears in nothing more, than in that he over-reaches wicked Men in their own works, and inventions; tripping 'em up, and over-turning 'em in their own play, as I have divers times before noted. (b)

16. Whereupon follows also the fourth consideration, how vainly Men strive against the Will of God; which when they seek to hinder, they help many times to effect, as *Leo* did; for whereas God had determin'd to give the Empire to *Machael Balbus*, *Leo* in laboring to prevent it by the Death of *Michael*, not only farther'd it, but also wrought his own destruction, of which observation I shall have occasion to treat more in the next Chapter.

17. The fifth and last consideration shall be, (c) that which I principally intended to shew by

(a) *Psal. 9. 17.* (b) *Tom. 1. chap. 3. num. 1. 4. &c. 13. & Tom. 2. chap. 3. num. 5. 6. &c.* (c) *Tom. 1. chap. 8. num. 5. 9. 10. 11. &c.*

this

this example, that no Man has such absolute power over any other Man, as to execute his designs and will upon him at his own pleasure, but only when God gives him leave as it appears in *Leo*, for who cou'd be more in another Man's power, and less in his own, than *Michael Balbus* when he was in the Hands of *Leo*? Being condemn'd to be Burnt, going to the Fire, and *Leo* following him to see the Execution, replenish'd with anger and hatred against him, inexorable, and resolv'd to be reveng'd; when nevertheless God so dispos'd, that a few brawling words of his own Wife, wrested from him so much respite for the Prisoner, as suffic'd to save his Life, and gain him the Empire: And thus it always falls out by one means or other, when God will frustrate the designs of wicked Men, or punish 'em.

18. And thô these Examples might suffice for this matter, yet I cannot omit another no les wonderful in our own Country; which is that, of the delivery of *Henry Earl of Richmond*, who was afterwards King of *England*, from the Hands of King *Edward the IV.* and of *Richard the Tyrant*; for whereas King *Edward*, after the Death of King *Henry the VI.* and his Son, had no fear of any but of *Henry Earl of Richmond*, who then liv'd a Banish'd Life, in the Court of *Francis Duke of Brittany*, (a) he sent Embassadors to the Duke, pretending to desire a Marriage betwixt his Eldest Daughter, and *Henry the Earl*; and for that purpose requested to have him sent over unto him, which the Embassadors obtain'd, by corruption,

(a) *Polidor. hist. Anglic. li. 24.*

of the Dukes Counsellors, and convey'd him to the Sea side to *Saint Malo's*, where he was to be Shipp'd presently for *England*, being Sick both out of Sorrow and Fear; but in the mean time a Noble-man of *Brittany*, and a great Friend of his, being absent from the Dukes Court, and hearing what had pass'd concerning him, presently repair'd to the Duke, and represented to him the fraud of King *Edward*, in his pretence of the Marriage, and consequently the Earl's danger, if he suffer'd him to be transported into *England*; whereupon the Duke sent one of his Council in all haste, to overtake the Embassadors of King *Edward*, and to find some good pretence to hinder the Earl's passage, which he did, entertaining 'em with some plausible Affairs, whilst the Earl took Sanctuary in a Church, claiming the priviledge of the Holy Place, which the Duke wou'd not suffer to be violated, and so the Embassadors return'd without the Earl, and he escap'd the Hands of King *Edward*. And again afterwards, in the time of King *Richard the Tyrant*, Brother, and Successor to *Edward the IV.* (a) the Earl being also in *Brittany* was in no small danger, by the Tyrants endeavours, with a Counsellor of the Dukes, who wholly Govern'd him, of whom the Tyrant obtain'd by Mony, that the Earl shou'd be presently taken, and either sent over into *England*, or at least kept Prisoner there; which design was discover'd to the Earl, before it cou'd be executed, whereby, he had time to save himself by Flight; and with-

(a) *Polidor. hist. Anglic. li. 25.*

in a while after procuring some small assistance of Charles King of France, and passing over into England, became the Minister of God's Justice upon the Tyrant, whom he Slew at Bosworth Field, (a) and Succeeded him in the Kingdom; which was Prophecy'd many Years before by the Holy King Henry the VI. who seeing him when he was but Ten Years of Age, sayd to some of his Nobility, that this shou'd be the Man, who shou'd decide, and end the Quarrel, betwixt the Houses of York and Lancaster, and become King of England.

19. By all this it appears, that thô wicked Men may infinitely extend their Malicious Wills, and desires to all mischief, yet they have no power or possibility, farther to execute any thing thereof, than God gives 'em leave for, thereby to accomplish his Will; in which respect the most wicked Man in the World, be he never so powerful, is but like a fierce Mastiff-dog ty'd in a Chain; for thô he Bark's at every Stranger, and has a Will to Bite him, yet he can come no nearer him, than the Chain permits him; and therefore the Malice, not only of wicked Men, but also of the Devil himself, may be compar'd to the Bloody Thirst of the Horse-leech, or Blood-sucker, with which skilful Physicians are wont to draw Blood at such time, and in such quantity, as he thinks convenient, for the Cure of his Patient; so do's Almighty God by his Omnipotent Wisdom, use the Malice of the Devil, and wicked Men, so far forth as he

(a) *Polidor. hist. Anglic. li. 24.*

fees it necessary, for the execution of his secret Judgments, either in the exercise and trial of his Servants, for their greater Merit; or in the punishment of Sinners, for his own greater Glory.

20. For otherwise if the Devil, and his Instruments might do what they wou'd, they wou'd quickly destroy all the good Men in the World; and this is the true cause, why the bad designs of wicked Men do sometimes take effect, and are sometimes frustrated, and turn many times not only to their own destruction, as it appears by many examples before alledg'd in this Discourse, (a) but also to the greater benefit of those whom they seek to destroy; as I have before declar'd, (b) by the Example of one (c) who thinking to Kill another with his Sword, Lanc'd an inward Impostume in his Body, which otherwise cou'd have had no Cure. The like I also noted of *Josephs Brethren*, (d) who Selling him for a Slave, procur'd his Advancement; whereunto I may add *Andronicus Comenus* (e) the Emperor, who meaning to Kill *Iacius Angelus* for the assurance of his Empire, caus'd his Election to the Imperial Dignity, which he never expected. The Story is very much to this purpose, which I have related at large in the precedent Chapter. (f) Therefore I conclude, that neither *Machiavels Prince*, be he never so courageously wicked, can

(a) Tom. 2. chap. 3. 4. 5. 19. & Tom. 2. chap. 3. num. 5. 6. 7. Tom. 2. chap. 7. num. 1; (b) Tom. 2. chap. 24. num. 18. (c) Plutar. *lt. de Utilitate capienda ab inimicis.* (d) Genes. 17. 41. (e) *Nuetas hist. de Andren. Com. lib. 2.* (f) Chap. 6. num. 19. 23.

put in execution his designs for the benefit of his State, neither can private Men execute their Malice against Princes, farther than God particularly permits, as I have already prov'd. (a)

21. This was well consider'd, as it seems, by Philip the II. King of Spain, who being advis'd by some about him, upon occasion of the Murder of the King of France, to go better guarded than commonly he did, answer'd excellently well; *Bien guardado està, a quien Dios guarda, He is well guarded whom God Protects*; giving us to understand that how powerful soever any Prince is in his Guards, and Armies, yet his chief security consists in God's Protection.

22. But to proceed, thô Almighty God differently serves himself, as well of Men, as of all other Creatures, for the Chastisement of all sorts of Sins, yet he uses greater severity in the punishment of Tyrants, and wicked Princes, than of any other, for three reasons. The first is, because their offences are far greater than those of other Mens; both because they commonly concern weighty and publick matters; as also because they corrupt many by their bad Example; as I have elsewhere signifi'd. (b) The second reason is; because they are more ungrateful to God than other Men, since they receive greater Temporal benefits at his Hands than others; and therefore are bound to serve him with greater Love, Care and Duty than others are. The third reason is, because they being above their own

(a) Tom. 2. chap. 6, num. 19. 20, &c.

(b) Tom. 1. chap. 3. num. 22.

Laws, and not subject to the penalties thereof, their faults do properly belong to the Tribunal of Almighty God, whose Lieutenants and Ministers they are, and to whom they are therefore to yield a strict, and exact account of their Ministry.

23. This is expressly taught in the Book of Wisdom, where Almighty God says thus to Kings and Princes. (a) *Hearken O Kings, and understand, learn you who are Judges of the bounds of the Earth, by reason of that Power which is giv'n unto you from above, and Strength from the highest, who will Examin your Works, and Search your Thoughts; and because when you were Ministers in his Kingdom, you did not Judge rightly, nor keep the Law of Justice, nor walk in the way of God, he will quickly appear unto you with Terror, for most rigorous judgment is done unto them that Govern; with the Poor and Mean Man Mercy is us'd, but Mighty Men shall mightily suffer torments.* Thus says the Wise Man, which Job confirms saying. (b) *That God loosens the Girdle of Kings, and Girds their Reins with a Rope. He pours down contempt upon Princes, and makes 'em stagger like Drunken Men.* And therefore the Royal Prophet says, that Almighty God is Terrible to the Kings of the Earth: Which may appear by the strange, and exemplar punishment which God has lay'd upon wicked Princes at different times, without the help of Man, in so evident a manner, that it cou'd not be deny'd but that it proceeded expressly from his Hand: Whereof we have many

(a) Sap. 6. 2; &c. (b) Iob. 12. 18 "

Examples, not only in the Holy Scriptures, (a) but also in Prophane Histories. (b)

24. *Pharaeo* was Drown'd in the Red Sea pur-suing *Moyses* and the Children of *IsraeL*. *Nisbuchodonozor* was cast down from his Princely Throne, and made a Companion to Beasts. (c) *Ozias* and *Joram* were stricken by Almighty God; the first with a filthy Leprosie, and the latter with an incurable Flux in his Belly; whereby by little and little, he voided his Bowels, and dy'd as the Scripture says, of a most filthy Disease: Also the wicked *Jezebel* (d) was Eaten with Dog's: (e) *Antiochus* the Tyrant rotted alive, in such a manner, that Worm's abundantly issu'd out of his Body, and neither he nor any Man else cou'd indure the stench that came from it. (f) *Herod*, who Kill'd Saint *James*, and Persecuted the rest of the Apostles, was stricken by an Angel, and devour'd by Worm's whilst he liv'd.

25. And to come to later Histories, (g) *Hunnericus* King of the *Wandals* in *Africk*, and an Arian Heretick, was also consum'd with Worm's, wherewith his Body became so Rotten, that when he Dy'd it fell in pieces, and cou'd not be Bury'd whole; (h) *Mempricius* King of *Brittany*, being most Vicious, and Tyrannical withal, was worry'd by Wolves; (i) *Popielus* King of *Polony*, and his

(a) Exod. 14. Dan. ca. 4. (b) Paralip. ca. 16.

C. 21. (c) 4 Reg. ca. 9. 2 Mach. ca. 9. Act. 13.

(d) *Iidor*. (e) *Victor. Uticen. de persecut. Vand.*

(f) *Carton Chron. par 2. an. Mun. 4122. Polidor. li.*

1. (g) *Hiſt. prodigios.* (h) 1. p. c. 3 *Zonar.*

Anni. To. 3. (i) *Bonifacius ep. ad Esthelbald. apud*

Baron. an. 745:

Wise

Wife were Kill'd with Rat's and Mice, which iss'd out of the Tomb's, of his Children and Nephew's, whom he had caus'd to be Murder'd. The Heretical and Cruel Emperor *Anastasius* being admonish'd in a Dream, that fourteen Years of his Life shou'd be cut off for his Heresie, was Kill'd with a Thunder-bolt. *Celred* one of the Saxon Kings of England before the Conquest, was for his wicked Life Possest, and Kill'd by the Devil, as he was Banqueting with his Nobility.

26. (a) *Gunderick* an Arian King of the *Wandals*, Dy'd also Possest, and miserably vex'd by the Devil; (b) *Leo* the IV. Emperor, having Sacrilegiously taken a Golden Crown from the Church, and Altar of Saint *Sophia* in *Constantinople*, out of Covetousness of a Precious Stone wherewith it was adorn'd, and having worn it on his Head in a Triumphant manner throu' the City, was strucken by Almighty God with an Impostume in his Head, call'd a Carbuncle, and was so tormented therewith that he Dy'd. (c) *Boleslaus* King of *Polonia*, who Kill'd the Holy Bishop *Stanislaus* with his own Hand, was cast out of his Kingdom by his own Subjects, afterwards falling Mad, ran up and down the Woods, and was found in the end, almost Eaten up by Dog's (d) *Drahomira* Wife to *Vratillaus* Duke of

(a) *Victor Vicen. de perfec. Vand. Paul Disc. li.*
 (b) *Zonar. Annal. To. 3. (c) Egnatius, in
 epie. Baron ann. 1079. ex Longino. Dubravius.*
 (d) *Histor. Bohemia. li. 8.*

Bohemia procur'd the Death first of the Holy Woman *Ludimilla* her Mother-in-law, and afterwards of many Priests: And as she pass'd in her Coach over the place where the Priests were Murder'd, the Earth open'd and swallow'd her up; for which reason the place is held as accurs'd, and shunn'd by all such as pass that way to *Praga*, as *Dubravius* reports, (a) in his History of *Bohemia*. Finally, *Petrus Cluniacensis*, a most grave Author, affirms, that a Count of *Mascon* in *Burgundy*, having committed many Sacrileges, and being one Day at his own Palace in *Mascon*, (b) accompany'd with many Noble-men, and Soldiers, was forc'd by a Stranger, who came to him on Horse back, to get upon a led Horse, which he had there ready for him, and so was carry'd away in the Air, in the Sight of all the City, and was never seen, nor heard of afterwards.

27. To these, many more examples may be added of Emperors, Kings and Princes, which for their wickedness were notoriously punish'd by the Hand of God, without the means or help of Men; who nevertheless, are the ordinary Instruments of God's Justice, tho' many times they are principally mov'd thereunto, either by hatred, fear, ambition, or by some other passion wherof Almighty God serves himself, for the execution of his secret Judgments; as I have al ready shew'd in the punishment of Sinners in general, and will now shew also particularly in wicked Kings and Princes.

(a) *Ibidem.* (b) *Petrus Cluniacen.* lib. 2. mira
ca. 1. (b)

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tion of which
Sentence, God us'd the Ambition
of *Cyrus* and *Darius*, who Besieging *Babylon*, took
wards it, and Kill'd *Baltazar*. The like also evident-
ay appears in Scripture, in *Nadab*, *Helam*, (c)
which and many other Schismatical King's of *Israel*;
whish upon whom God executed his Just Judgments
ns on by the means of most wicked Men, who Kill'd
dinary em out of an Ambitious desire they had of their
time Kingdom's.

er by 29. I thought good to alledge these Examples
ission out of the Holy Scriptures, wherein it has pleas'd
or the God to discover the course of his Providence in
ve all the execution of his secret Judgments upon these
ers in King's, to the end we may also observe the same
ly in like occasions, and acknowledge his Justice
in the miserable end of wicked Princes; by what

(a) 4 Reg. ca. 9. *Iosephus Antiquit: lib. 10*

(b) *Daniel ca. 5.* (c) 3 Reg. 15. 16.

means soever the same happens unto them, to which purpose I will also alledge an example, or two, out of later Histories.

30. *Mauritius* the Emperor, (a) who was Slain by *Phocas*, Dream'd a little before, that an Image of Christ, which was over the Brazen Gate of his Palace, call'd him and charg'd him with his Sins; and in the end demanded of him, whether he wou'd receive the punishment thereof in this Life, or in the next: And when he Answer'd in this, the Image commanded that he shou'd be giv'n with his Wife and Children into the Hands of *Phocas*. Whereupon *Mauritius* awaking in great fear, sent for *Philippicus* his Son-in-law, and ask'd him, whether he knew any Soldier in the Army call'd *Phocas*, who Answer'd, that there was a Commissary so call'd, a Young Man, Temerarious, but Timorous and Cowardly; if he be a Coward says *Mauritius*, he is Cruel and Bloody.. And within a while after, it so fell out, that *Mauritius* grew to be so hateful to his Soldiers for his Covetousness, and their bad Payments, that they were easily corrupted by *Phocas*, and induc'd to Proclaim him Emperor; by whom *Mauritius* was taken as he fled with his Wife and Five Children, who were Kill'd first, and he himself afterwards; who considering his own deserts, and the Justice of God, often repeated these words: (b) *Iustus es Domine, & rectum iudicium tuum; Thou art just O Lord, and thy judg-*

(a) *Zonaras Annal. To. 3. in Maurintio Paul. dist. li. 16. in fine. Blondus Dec. li. 8. Sabellic. ennead. 8. l. s. an 603. (b) Psalm. 118.*

ment is right. Wherein we may note, how the hatred of the Soldiers, and the Ambition of *Phocas* were the means, whereby God did execute his Justice upon *Mauritius*.

31. The like may be also observ'd in the Conquest of *Naples*, by *Charles* the VIII. King of *France*, whereof I before related the Story at large : (a) Where I made it evident, that it proceeded from God's Just Judgment, for the punishment of the King's thereof; which appear'd not only by the strangeness of the success, almost incredible for the speedy Conquest, and the small, or rather no resistance on the behalf of the King's and their Subjects; but also by the tormented Conscience of King *Alphonsus*; so terrifi'd with the remembrance, and representation of his former Tyranny, that all things seem'd to him to denounce God's Just Judgment against him, and to cry, *France, France*: Besides the testimony of the Soul of King *Ferdinand* his Father, newly deceas'd, who appearing to a Physician, signifi'd unto him, (b) that God had decreed to deprive King *Alphonsus* and his Son of his Kingdom, for both their Sins; which nevertheless was executed upon 'em by the ordinary means, whereby most States are overthrown, either by the Ambition of some, or the hatred of others.

32. So that we see how Almighty God, who as I have fully declar'd before, disposes all things sweetly, and wou'd not suffer any evil in the World, but to the end to draw good from it;

(a) Tom. 1. ch. 22. *Philip. Com. Chron. du Roy Charles* 8. ch. 17. (b) *Guicciardin lib. 1.*

as by the Malice of the Devil, and the most execrable Sin of *Judas*, he wrought the Redemption of Man; we see I say, how for the execution of his Holy Will, and Justice upon wicked Princes, he serves himself as well of the bad Wills, and Desires of wicked Men, as of all other causes, and effects whatsoever; be they Natural, Moral, or Accidental: Whereby it appears, that the miserable end of Tyrants, whereof the World has had many experiences, is principally to be attributed to the Justice of God, as to the first, and principal cause thereof; thô the secondary, and inferior causes are, or may be as many and different, as there are many and different Passions or Affections in Men, and other Creatures in the World; the Ministry and Service whereof their Omnipotent Creator uses, as it pleases him for the execution of his Divine Will.

33. Wherefore it may greatly be wonder'd at, how *Machiavel*, who wou'd seem to be Wiser than all other Men, and is held by his followers for the Arch-Statist of the World, either did not see the common experience, which the World has ever observ'd of God's punishment of wicked Princes for Sin; or if he saw it, how he cou'd imagine, that the extremity of wickedness, or any sinful Policy can secure a Princes State: Wherein he or his followers might be the more excus'd, if this experience I speak of, were only to be observ'd in the Histories of our Scriptures, or Ecclesiastical and Christian Writers, and were not also most manifest in prophane Authors, and Pagan Historians; all which inculcate nothing

more

more, than the severity of God's Judgments upon wicked Men, and especially upon wicked Princes and Tyrants.

34. If any Man wou'd but Read the Histories of *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Dionysius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Plutarch*, *Dion*, *Livy*, *Iustin*, or of any other Ancient Historians of the *Gentils*; he wou'd see nothing more frequent, and ordinary in 'em, than the curious observation of the miserable end of wicked Tyrants; and the Judgment they make thereof, referring the same to the Justice of God.

35. To this purpose I will take notice of some, which one of the above nam'd Historians recounts, I mean *Iustin* (the abridger of the General History of *Trogus Pompeius*) in whom we may Read the violent, or unfortunate Deaths of these following Tyrants: (a) *Astiages* King of the *Medians*; (b) *Cambyses*, (c) *Oropastes* and (d) *Ochus* Kings of *Perisia*; (e) *Hippias*, and (f) Forty other Tyrants of *Athens*; (g) *Philip*, and (h) *Alexander*, the Great his Son, and (i) *Olympias* Mother to *Alexander*; (k) *Antipater* the Son of *Cassander*; (l) *Lysimachus*, (m) *Ptolemy* and (n) *Perseus*, all Kings of *Macedon*, (o) *Clearchus* Tyrant of *Heraclea*; (p) *Mathaeus*, and (q) *Hanno* of *Carthage*; (r) *Dionysius*, and (s) *Agathocles* Tyrants of *Sicily*; (t) *Nabis*

(a) *Iustin*. li. 2. (b) *Idem*. Ibidem. (c) *Ibidem*.
 (d) *Idem* li. 10. (e) *Idem* li. 2. (f) *Idem* li. 5.
 (g) lib. 5. (h) lib. 12. (i) lib. 14. (k) lib. 16.
 (l) lib. 17. (m) lib. 24. (n) lib. 33. &c. 3. (o) lib.
 16. (p) lib. 18. (q) lib. 21. 1. (r) lib. 20. (s) lib.
 22. &c. 2. (t) lib. 31.

a Tyrant of *Greece*; (a) *Aristotimus* Tyrant of *Epyrus*; two King's call'd (b) *Seleucus*; (c) *Antiochus*, (d) *Demetrius*, (e) *Alexander*, (f) and *Tripho* all Kings of *Syria*; (g) *Attalus* a King in *Asia*; (h) *Laodice* Queen of *Cappadocia*; (i) *Cleopatra* Wife of *Ptolemy* King of *Ægypt*; (k) *Mithridate* Son to *Artabanus*, and (l) *Orodes* King of *Parthia*; and lastly (m) *Amulius* Uncle to *Romulus*, and *Remus*, who was Kill'd by them.

36. These and divers others, whom I omit for brevities sake, are noted by *Iustin*, to have either got their Estates or govern'd 'em Tyrannically, by Perjury, Murders and Cruelty; and to have perish'd miserably; and in divers of 'em, he seriously observes the Just Judgment of God: Of *Cambyses* King of *Perisia*, who Kill'd his own Brother, and spoil'd the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, he says, *Thus he Dy'd, being grievously wounded in the Thigh with his own Sword, which fell of it self out of his Scabbard, and inflicted the punishment, as well of his Murder, as of his Sacrilege.* (n) Of *Hippias* Tyrant of *Athens*, he says, *In that Battle Hippias the Tyrant, was Slain, the Author and mover of that War, the Gods taking revenge upon him:* (o) Of *Ptolemy* King of *Ægypt*, he says, *The wickedness of Ptolemy was not long unpunish'd, for being spoil'd of his Kingdom by the Gaul's, and afterwards taken, he lost his Life by the sword*

(a) lib. 26. (b) lib. 27. &c 39. (c) lib. 27.
 (d) lib. 35. (e) Ibidem. (f) lib. 36. (g) lib. 37.
 (h) Ibidem. (i) lib. 9. (k) lib. 42. (l) Ibidem.
 (m) lib. 43. *Iustin* lib. 2. (n) Ibidem lib. 2. (o) Ibidem
 lib. 24.

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as he deserv'd, the Gods thus punishing so many of his
perjuries, and Bloody Murders.

37. Of Seleucus King of Syria, who Kill'd both
his Brother, and his Mother-in-law, he says,
(a) Seleucus having prepar'd a great Navy to make
War upon the Cities which Rebell'd against him,
lost the same by a Tempest, whereby the Gods punish'd
his Murder; and a little after, speaking of him,
and his Brother Antiochus King of Asia, who
being Banish'd out of his Kingdom was Mur-
der'd by Thieves, he says, (b) Seleucus being at
the same time also driv'n out of his Kingdom, fell
head-long from his Horse, and so Dy'd; so that the
two Brothers being Banish'd with the like misfortune,
after the loss of their Kingdoms, receiv'd the just
punishment of their wickedness. He observes also
the like Justice, and punishment of God in the
overthrow of the Messenians for the Murder of
Philopamen: (c) And in the unfortunate ends, of
Macheus the Carthaginian; Alexander King of Syria;
all the Progeny of Cassander King of Macedon; the
Children of Ptolemy; Evergetes King of Egypt;
Brennus Captain of the Gaules with all his Sacri-
legious Army; and of Milo of Epirus, (d) who was
one of those that Kill'd Laodomia; of whose Mur-
der, and God's Judgment upon the Murderers,
he says thus; (e) Which horrible fact the Im-
mortal Gods did punish with the destruction of almost
all the people, who were very near quite consum'd
with Dearth and Famine; as well by Civil, as For-

(a) Idem. lib. 27. (b) Idem lib. 17. (c) lib.
23. lib. 18. & 28. 35. lib. 39. (d) lib. 25. (e) Idem
lib. 23.

raign VVar; and Milo who was the principal Actor in the Murder of Laodomia, falling Mad, and tearing out his own Bowels with his Teeth, Dy'd within twelve Days after her.

38. This I have thought good to note out of the short History of *Iustin*, to give to the Reader some tast of the Judgment of Pagan Historians, concerning the Justice of God, in punishing the Tyranny and wickednes of Princes; which as I sayd before, is so seriously and Religiously observ'd, by all the best Writers in all Ages and Times, as well *Greeks*, as *Latins*, Pagans, as well as Christians, that no Man who has Read 'em can be ignorant, what the Opinion, Judgment, and Experience of the World, has always been concerning the same; and therefore it may very well be sayd, that *Machiavel* was either wilfully Blind, if he saw it not, or more than Mad, if he saw it and neglected the taking notice of it; presuming to Teach a Doctrine, not only repugnant to all Laws, both Human and Divine; but also prov'd to be very pernicious, by the experience of the whole World.

39. But perhaps some Politician, or *Machiavelian*, will say in defence of his Masters Doctrine, that thô very many Tyrants, or perhaps the greatest part have miserably perish'd; yet there hath been many others, who either got, or conserv'd their States by Tyranny and Wickedness, and nevertheless Dy'd Natural Deaths; yea, and left flourishing Empires, Kingdoms, or States unto their Children: Whereby any Man may be incourag'd to follow their Example, with no small hope

hope of the like good success: Such were (a) Baasa and (b) Manahen Kings of Israel; the Elder (c) Denis Tyrant of Sicily; two (d) Ptolemy's, the one call'd Philepater and the other (e) Evergetes, the second King of Ægypt; (f) Cassander King of Macedon; (g) Constantinus the IV. and (h) Heraclius Emperors of Constantinople; (i) Mahomet the II. Emperor of the Turks; (k) Edward the IV. King of England; (l) Haldan King of Denmark, and (m) Iohn Galliace Duke of Milan: All which, having either attain'd to Sovereignty, or labor'd to conserve themselves therein, by the Murders of their Parents, Brethren, Nephews, or Kinsfolks; or by some other Wicked and Tyrannical means, Dy'd according to the course of Nature, and left their States, to their Children and Posterity.

40. To Answer this, I say first, that thô this be true, yet 'tis great folly to draw any consequence from it, or to ground thereupon any Doctrine, or Precepts to teach others to follow their Example; for Precepts are to be deduc'd from things that are most frequent and ordinary, which breed an experience; and not from things more rare, or seldom seen, which are commonly casual, and to be referr'd to Chance; for what Man that has any Wit, wou'd persuade his Friend

(a) 3 Reg. 15. &c 15. (b) 4 Reg. 15. (c) Cicero Tuscul. q. lib. 5. (d) Iustin lib. 38 & 41. (e) Idem lib. 30. (f) Idem lib. 38. (g) Idem lib. 15. (h) Zosir. Annal. 10. 3. (i) Idem. (k) Paul. Iovi in comment. (l) Polidor. lib. 24. (m) Saxo. lib. Nauclei in chron. an. 1400.

to go to Sea in a Storm, in some little Old Rotten Boat; because he has perhaps seen some escape, or Sail prosperously, in such another? Wherefore we cannot think 'em to be Wise, who contemning common experience, which teaches the miserable end of Tyrants, persuade Men to Tyranny, by the example of a few who have escap'd, or have perhaps been prosperous, by the secret disposition of God's Providence, for causes known to his Divine Majesty; as I have partly signifi'd already, (a) and will declare farther hereafter.

41. Therefore *Cæsar* sayd, (b) that forasmuch as he never knew any Man but *Sylla*, who cou'd conserve his State long by Cruelty; yet he meant not to follow his Example, for as the Proverb says, *One Swallow makes not a Summer*; neither ought a few Examples, to overthrow a greater number; and much less common experience. In which respect, it may very well be sayd to the *Machiavellians*, as one sayd to a Priest of *Neptune*, (c) who shew'd him certain Painted Tables that hung up in *Neptunes* Temple, containing the Histories of some, whom *Neptune* had, as they thought, deliver'd from Drowning; *But can you tell me*, says he, *how many have been Drown'd, for these few who have escap'd?* The same I say to *Machiavellians*, that for a few Tyrants which have Liv'd and Dy'd prosperously; throu' God's secret Judgments, they may find an infinite number of others, who have been by his Justice, ruin'd and destroy'd.

(a) *Tom. i. ch. 26.*(b) *Cicero ad Atticum.*(c) *Cicero de natura Deor.*

42. But

42. But more fully to satisfie this Objection, reflect upon what I have before treated, (a) concerning the prosperity of wicked Men in th's Life; wherein amongst many other things, very considerable for this matter, I have declar'd that Almighty God, (b) *Whose mercy is above all his Works*, do's sometimes extend the same towards the most wicked, for such causes, as I have there signifi'd; yet in such sort, that thô he do's mercifully remit unto them, the Temporal punishment due for their wickedness, or some part thereof; yet he justly exacts it afterwards of their Children and Posterity: whereof I have alledg'd many reasons, and examples, needless to be repeated in this place; because they may be seen elsewhere at large, (c) whereby it appears how true it is, what Job says, (d) *God will reserve the sorrow of the wicked Father for his Children*, and as the Poët expresses very well; *Crimina sae luunt nati scelerata parentum; Children often Pay the Penalty of their Parents wickedness.* And this being most evidently true in all sorts of wicked Men, may be most generally observ'd in such Tyrants, as possess themselves of States, or seek to conserve 'em by Murders; as shall appear even in those who are mention'd in the Objection, of whom I will treat in the same order, that they are set down.

43. Baasa got the Kingdom of Israel, by the Murder of King Nadab, and thô he himself Dy'd

(a) Tom. 1. ch. 26. (b) Psal. 144. (c) Tom. 1. ch. 26. per totum. Chap. 27. num. 3. & sequent.
(d) Job. 11.

a Natural Death, yet his Son *Ela*, was Kill'd by his Servant *Zambri*, who as the Scripture says, (a) *Destroy'd all the House of Baasa*, and of his Son *Ela* for all the Sins of *Baasa*.

44. *Manahen* depriv'd *Sellum* as well of his Life as of the Kingdom of *Israel*, and Dy'd nevertheless in his Bed. *Phaceia* his Son, was Murder'd by *Phacee*, and so pay'd the Penalty of his Fathers Offences. (b)

45. As for *Denis*, the first Tyrant of *Sicily* of that Name, Historians agree not about his Death; for thô most affirm that he Reign'd Thirty Eight Years, and Dy'd Naturally, leaving his Kingdom to *Denis* his Son; yet *Justin* (c) following *Trogus Pompeius*, whose History he abridges, says that he was Slain; but howsoever it was, two things are evident in him, very much to be noted; the one, that his Life was most miserable, by reason of the continual fears, suspitions, and torments of Mind, wherein he Liv'd, as I have before declar'd at large; (d) and the other is, the punishment of God upon his Son, who was driven out of his Kingdom by *Dion*, and forc'd to Live at *Corinth* in a most base manner; and to get his Living by Teaching Children. (e) Wherefore *Valerius Maximus* (f) a Pagan Writer, observes excellently well that the Justice of God fell upon him, for his Fathers Tyranny; saying, thô his Father, in his Life time, suffer'd not the punishment due to his wickedness, yet

(a) 3 Reg. 16. II. (b) 4 Reg. 15. 14. 26. (c) *Iustin lib. 22. fine.* (d) Tom. 2, chap. 6. (e) Num. 4.

(f) *Valer. lib. 2. cib. 2.*

being Dead, he pay'd for it in the shameful Calamity of his Son ; whereunto *Valerius* also adds this Golden Sentence ; (a) *Lento enim gradu procedit Divina ira, tarditatemque supplicij, gravitate compensat.* The Wrath of God proceeds with a slow pace, to take Revenge of Offences committed against him, and Recompences the delay of the punishment, with the grievousness thereof.

46. *Ptolemy* (who was call'd in Mockery *Philopater*, or a Lover or Friend of his Father ; because he Kill'd both his Father and his Mother) Dy'd a Natural Death, leaving his Kingdom to his Son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, who also Dy'd peaceably, for ought I find to the contrary , wherein I confess it pleas'd God to interrupt the ordinary course of his Justice in punishing Tyrannical Murders with Murder, or other violent Deaths, either in the Father, or in the Son, which is to be attributed to some just, thô secret Cause, known only to his Infinite Wisdom ; whereof we see the very like in the Holy Scriptures in *Jehu King of Israel*, (b) and his Posterity ; for thô the ordinary course of God's Justice was not wont to permit the Posterity of any of the Schismatical Kings of *Israel*, to enjoy that Kingdom farther than the second Generation, so that their Progeny or Races were ever cut off, either in the Father or the Son ; yet he exempted *Jehu*, and his Posterity from that punishment , granting 'em a particular privilege to Succeed one another, until the fourth Generation after *Jehu*, for the good Service *Jehu*

(a) *Ibidem.* (b) *A Reg. 10. & 25.*

did him, in destroying the House of *Achab*: As I have before declar'd, treating of the Prosperity of wicked Men. (a)

47. And if it may be lawful to conjecture the cause, why God exempted *Ptolemy Philopator* and his Son *Epiphanes*, from the punishment of violent Deaths, due to the wickedness of *Philopator*, I may probably say (for of God's secret Judgments, I dare affirm nothing for certain) that it may be ascrib'd to the Mercy of God intended towards 'em, for the Service which *Ptolemeus Philadelphus*, (b) Grand-father to *Philopator*, did him, as well in releasing the *Jews* which were Captives in *Egypt*, to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand; as also in sending Rich Gifts and Presents to the Temple of *Jerusalem*; and moreover; because he caus'd the Law of *Moyses*, (c) to be Translated into the Greek Tongue by Seventy Learned *Jews*, commonly call'd the *Septuaginta Interpretes*, or *Seventy Interpreters*; to the end that the same might be reserv'd in his Library. In all which, it may be thought, he did such grateful Service to Almighty God, that the Reward thereof redounded to the fourth Generation of his Posterity, as it fell out in the Posterity of *Je-hu*: And that therefore, neither *Philopator*, who was Grand-child to *Philadelphus*, nor *Epiphanes* Son to *Philopator*, nor *Philometor* Son to *Epiphanes* Dy'd violently, thô the Murders, as well of *Philometor*, who Kill'd his own Mother, as of *Philopator*, whom

(a) Tom. i. ch. 16. num. 21. (b) *Instit. li.* 39.
(c) *Iosephus de antiqu.* lib. 12. ca. 2.

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I chiefly hereof speak, might have deserv'd it.

48. And as the priviledge granted to the Posterity of *Iehu* (a) ceas'd in the fourth Successor; for *Zacharius*, who was the fourth, either left no Children, or if he did, they Succeeded not; so also the exemption from violent Death, granted as it may be thought to the Posterity of *Philadelphus*, ceas'd in the fourth Descent; for *Philometor*, who was the fourth Successor dy'd a Natural Death, but his Son was depriv'd, both of his Kingdom, and his Life, by his Uncle *Evergetes*, of whom I am to speak next: And this I thought good to note by the way, as not unprobable; not presuming to assuare any thing concerning God's secret Judgments; but that which I take upon me to affirm here, is, that forasmuch as there is no Rule so general, but has an exception, therefore neither this example of *Philopator*, nor a few other such like, proceeding from God's secret Judgments, which are ever most just, can prejudice the general Rule, observ'd in the ordinary course of his Justice towards most Men.

49. As for *Ptolemy Evergetes* the II. who was Son to *Epiphanes*, and Brother to *Philometor*, he was a most Barbarous and Cruel Tyrant, for he Kill'd not only his Nephew, Son to *Philometor*, (b) as I have sayd, but also a Son of his own, which he had by *Cleopatra* his own Sister; besides his horrible Cruelty in Murdering many

(a) 4 Reg. 15.

(b) Justin 3.

Chief Citizens of *Alexandria*; which thô it was not punish'd in him by a violent Death; perhaps because he was also within the compass of the fourth Generation, being Brother to *Philometor* aforesaid, (a) yet it drew the Vengeance of Almighty God upon his Children; for his Son *Ptolemy Phiscon* was expell'd out of his Kingdom, by his own Mother *Cleopatra*, and by *Alexander* his Younger Brother; which *Alexander* Poyson'd his Mother, and having Possess'd himself of the Kingdom, was driv'n out again by the people. And in like manner the two Daughters of *Evergetes*, *Cleopatra* and *Griphina*, being Marry'd to two Brethren *Cizycenus* and *Griphus*, (b) who contended for the Kingdom of *Syria*, caus'd the destruction of one another; for *Griphina* procur'd *Cleopatra* to be Murder'd in the very Temple of the Gods, where she had taken Sanctuary; whose Death was afterwards Reveng'd by her Husband *Cizycenus*; who having overthrown his Brother *Griphus*, Husband to *Griphina*, Slew her in Revenge of his Wives Death.

so. *Cassander* King of *Macedon*, was not only consenting to the Poysoning of *Alexander* the Great, but also destroy'd all his Children and Family, and yet Dy'd no violent Death; but his three Sons of *Antipater*, *Alexander* and *Philip* were Slain, and his Daughter *Euridice* was kept in continual Prison; that, so as *Iustin* says, (c) all the Family of *Cassander* pay'd for the Murder, as well of *Alexander*, as of his Children; either

(a) *Iustin* 39.(b) *Ibidem*.(c) *Iustin lib. 16.*

it was by their Deaths, or else by some other punishment perhaps.

of the 51. Constantine the IV. Emperor of that Name, ~~lometer~~ first cut off the Nose and Ears of his two Bro-
uce of others, and afterwards Kill'd 'em; and forasmuch
as he became in the end a good Man, it seem's
gdom, that God Translated the Temporal punishment
~~Axander~~ thereof from him, to his Son *Iustinian* the Em-
son'd peror; whom *Leontius* the Tyrant depriv'd as well
of the of his Nose and Ears, as of his Empire; Banish-
people, ing him into *Pontus*: And *Leontius* being over-
Ever- thrown, and taken in a Battle by *Tiberius*, lost
d to both his Nose and his Liberty. (a) Afterwards
who *Iustinian* recovering his Empire, took *Tiberius*
d the Prisoner, and having commanded both his Nose
pro- and his Ears to be cut off, caus'd him and *Leom-*
temple *tius*, whom he found in Prison, to be executed
uary; together: With whom nevertheless the Tragedy
y her ended not, until at length both *Iustinian*, and
n his Son *Tiberius* were Slain by *Philippicus*, who
v her Succeeded him in the Empire.

only 52. *Heraclius* the Emperor (b) Succeeding
the *Phocas*, whom he Slew, lett two Sons, *Constantin*
and the V. and *Heracleon*; of which two, *Constantin*
but was Poyson'd by his Step-mother *Martina*, (c)
Philip to advance *Heracleon* her Son to the Empire,
kept who after a while was depriv'd thereof, and Ban-
(c) all ish'd together with his Mother; her Tongue and
order, his Nose being cut off.

either 53. *Mahomet* the II. Emperor of the Turk's
16. of that Name, who, overthrew the Empires of

(a) *Zonar. Annal. To. 3.* (b) *Zonar. Annal.*

(c) *Paul. Diac. lib. 13.*

Constantinople and *Trabifonda*, Succeeded his Brother *Amurates*; (a) and for the security of his Empire, presently caus'd his own Brother to be Kill'd; the Revenge of whose Blood, fell upon his Sons, *Zizimus* and *Bajazet* the II. of whom the first being forc'd by his Brother to fly into Christendom, was Poyson'd in *Italy*; and the other, to wit, *Bajazet* was expell'd out of *Constantinople*, and Poyson'd by his own Son *Selim*.

54. *Edward* the IV. King of *England*, caus'd not only King *Henry* the VI. and the Prince his Son, but also his own Brother *George* Duke of *Clarence* to be Murder'd; (b) the penalty whereof was pay'd with the Blood of both his Sons, *Edward* the V. and his Brother, Murder'd by their Uncle King *Richard* in the Tower.

55. *Haldan* King of *Denmark* got the Kingdom by the Murder of his two Brethren, *Roe* and *Scato*, and was afterwards so Cruel a Tyrant all his Life long, that *Saxo Grammaticus*, an Ancient Historian of *Denmark*, says thus of him; (c) His Fortune was most admirable in one thing, that tho' he never omitted any moment of time in the exercise of Cruelty, yet, *Senectute vitam, non ferro finivit*; He ended his Life by Old Age, and not by the Sword. Thus says *Saxo*, noting the common experience of the Bloody and Violent Deaths, of Cruel and Bloody Tyrants; in respect whereof he wonder'd at the natural and quiet end of *Haldan*, which must be referr'd, as I have noted of the

(a) *Paul, Ioviu. in com. rerum Turcie.* (b) *Polidor. lib. 2.* (c) *Saxo Grammatist. Daniae. lib. 2.*

rest, to the secret Judgments of Almighty God; transferring sometimes the Fathers Temporal punishment, to the Children; for very just, thô secret Causes, known only to his Infinite Wisdom; as it may also be observ'd in this case: For whereas King *Haldan* left two Sons, *Roe* and *Helgo*, (a) the first being Invaded and overthrown in three Battel's by the King of *Swedland*, was also Slain by him; and the other following his Fathers Steps, as well in Cruelty, as all other wickedness, grew no less hateful to himself, than to all other Men, and in the end Kill'd himself with his own Sword.

56. To conclude, *John Galeas Visconte*, Possessing the one half of the State of *Milan*, and his Brother *Barnabas* the other, Kill'd his Brother to have the whole; and having obtain'd of *Wenceslaus* the Emperor, the Title of Duke, subdu'd all *Lombardy*, and left the same with the Title of a Dutchy to his Son *John Maria Visconte*; (b) who was afterwards Slain by his own Subjects for his Tyranny, and so receiv'd the punishment both of his Fathers wickedness, as well as his own.

57. To these may be added other Children of Bloody Tyrants, who pay'd the Penalty of their Fathers wickedness with their Blood, but yet if you compare them in number with those whom God hath manifestly punish'd in this Life for their own Tyranny, you shall find 'em to be few in respect of the other; but howsoever

(a) *Saxo. Ibider.*

(b) *Naucler. in Chron.*

an. 1400.

it

it is, this I dare be bold to say, that there are very few, or scarce any Tyrant to be found in all Antiquity, whose Person, State or Posterity, has not receiv'd some notorious punishment, even in the very Opinion and Judgment of the World; and most commonly by Violent and Bloody Deaths; it being most consonant to the Justice and Judgments of God, that the punishment shou'd correspond to the fault; that Blood be repay'd with Blood; and that as our Saviour says, *He who strikes with the sword, shou'd perish by the sword.*

58. Wherefore Almighty God sayd to Noe. (b) *VVhoever shall spill Man's Blood, his Blood shall be spilt;* which we see was verifi'd for the example of others in *Cain* the Proto-paricide, when he had Kill'd his Brother *Abel*; (c) whose Blood our Lord sayd did cry to him for Vengeance from the Earth; and therefore he was accurs'd by Almighty God, and afterwards Kill'd by *Lamech*; and *Adonibezec* having cruelly cut off the Hands and Feet of Seventy Kings, and after Kill'd 'em, was taken by the Tribe of *Iuda*, and handl'd in the same manner, acknowledging God's Justice in himself, saying, *As I have done to others, so our Lord has render'd the same unto me.* (d)

59. And in like manner, when *Achab* had Kill'd *Naboth* (e) to have his Vineyard, the Prophet sayd unto him. *Even in the same place where the Dog's have lick'd the Blood of Naboth,*

(a) Matth. ch. 26. (b) Gen. 9. (c) Gen. 4.

(d) Iud. 1. 17. (e) 3 Reg. 22.

they

they shall lick thine ; which was afterwards fulfil'd. And the like severity of God's Justice may be noted also in *David* and his Children, for the Murder of *Vrias* ; and not only in *Amon Son to Manasses* ; but also in the People and Country of *Iuda*, who were miserably spoil'd and wasted by the Incursions of the *Syrians*, *Moabites* and *Amonits*, in the time of *Ioachin* Grand-child to *Manasses* ;
 (a) For the Innocent Blood which *Manasse* shed ;
 (b) And for this cause God wou'd not be merciful unto them. Thus says the Scripture ; whereby we may see that , as the Royal Prophet says ; (c) Our Lord abhor's the Bloody and deceitful Man.

60. To which purpose, I cannot omit upon this occasion to note by the way, the wonderful Providence and Justice Almighty God Daily shews, in the strange discovery of Murders amongst private Men, be they never so secretly committed. For , whence can it proceed , but from God's special Providence and Justice, that the Wounds of the Dead Body of him that is Murder'd, shou'd Bleed afresh if the Murderer com's where it is ? Which not only Grave Authors testifie , but also common experience proves to be true ; by the means whereof, many Murders have been discover'd : And what is there more generally observ'd in the experience of Men, than that Murder cannot long ly hid, but is discover'd and punish'd sooner or later ; which has been also an Old observation, as may appear by a strange Story , which *Plutarch* reports of the Murder

(a) 4 Reg. 14.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Psal. 5.
of

of one *Ibicus*, thô he tells it to another purpose.

61. *Ibicus* (*a*) being taken by certain Enemies of his, and carry'd to a secret place, where they meant to Kill him, persuaded 'em to desist from their Enterprize, assuring 'em that his Death wou'd be discover'd, and reveng'd by some means or other; and when they Laugh'd at him, and ask'd him who shou'd discover it, he shew'd 'em certain Cranes, which flew over their Heads; saying, that thô there shou'd be no Human Testimony to convince 'em, yet those Cranes shou'd be Witnesses against 'em, and help to revenge his Death; nevertheless they Slew him, and when he had been miss'd some Years, and great enquiry made after him by his Friends, it chanc'd one Day, that as the Murderers Sat together in the Theater, beholding a publick Spectacle, there flew over their Heads certain Cranes, which one of 'em seeing, shew'd 'em to his fellows, and Laughing, sayd, behold the Witnesses and Revengers of the Death of *Ibicus*: This was overheard by some that knew him, who signifi'd it to the Magistrates, whereupon being taken, and Examin'd, they Confess'd the Murder and were Executed.

62. The same Author recounts another Story, (*b*) which I have alledg'd before upon another occasion; how, that one who had Kill'd his own Father, and was not discover'd for many Years, betray'd himself by pulling down a Swal-

(*a*) Plutarch in his Treatise of much talking.

(*b*) Plutarch de sera uum. vindicta.

ows Nest, and stamping the Young Swallows under his Feet in a great Rage; telling 'em who ask'd him the cause, that the Swallows sayd, he had Kill'd his Father; whereupon he was suspect'd, Examin'd, and upon his Confession Condemn'd and Executed, as I have before declar'd more at large. (a)

63. To these I will add only one Example more out of *Cedrenus*. (b) A Thief having Robb'd and Kill'd a Poor Man, who had a Dog with him, left the Dead Body not far from the High-way, and the Dog lying by it; within a while after, a Passenger seeing the Dead Body, Bury'd it; which being done, the Dog Fawn'd upon him, and follow'd him Home; this Man was an Inn-keeper, and whereas the Dog was wont to Fawn upon all the Guests that came to his House, it chanc'd one Day, that he Bark'd at one, who came to Drink there, and set upon him with such violence, that the Inn-keeper and others, taking notice of it, were mov'd, says the Author, by Divine Instinct, to conceive that he was the Man who had Kill'd the Dog's former Master, and upon Suspicion thereof, caus'd him to be Apprehended and Examin'd, and so it fell out, that he being the Murderer, Confess'd it, and receiv'd the due punishment he deserv'd.

64. I forbear to alledge Modern Examples of this matter, because no Man can be ignorant of the strange accidents which happen Daily in one

(a) Tom. 1. ch. 26. num. 10. (b) *Cedrin apud Zonar Annal. To. 3. in Constantino Paganato,*

place or other, for the discovery and punishment of Murderers; and therefore I conclude, that the common observation thereof, being deriv'd from the experience as well of former Ages, as of the present time, is an excellent Argument, not only of the Enormity of Murder, but also of God's greater Providence, and severe Justice in punishing the same.

65. Seeing then Almighty God has ordain'd this Miraculous discovery of Murders, to the end no Murderer amongst private Men, shou'd escape the punishment of Human Laws, 'tis no wonder, if he severely punishes Murder in Princes, who ought to punish it in others: Whereby it may also be judg'd what security or benefit a Prince can procure to his State by such horrible Murders, as *Machiavel* seems to allow in his Prince; whereby he shall expose himself not only to the hatred of Men, but also to the Wrath and Vengeance of Almighty God, against whom he has no defence. For be he never so strong and powerful, God will put, as the Prophet sayd of *Sennacherib*, (a) *A Ring in his Nose, and a Bridle in his Mouth*; wherewith he will wring, wind and turn him which way he pleases, and perhaps make some little Mouse, Louse or Worm overthrow him, and Triumph over all his Power, Pomp and Pride; as may appear by the strange and miserable ends of divers Kings and Princes, of whom I have spoken before in this Chapter. (b)

(a) *Isay 37. 4 Reg. 19.*

(b) *Num. II, &c 22.*

C H A P. VIII.

'Tis farther debated whether all Sinful Policy be against Reason of State, by occasion whereof, some things are observ'd concerning the course of God's Providence, in the conservation and destruction of States : And by the way, somewhat is sayd of Sorcery, and how dangerous the Practise thereof is to Princes.

BUT now perhaps the Politicians will say, that thô he shou'd grant that the continuance of wickedness might make a Prince hateful both to God and Man; and consequently procure his Ruin; nevertheless 'twou'd not follow, that every Policy which may be sinful and offensive to God, is against reason of State; seeing experience teaches, that such Policies are many times beneficial and profitable thereunto; and whatsoever do's benefit the State, the same may be justly sayd to be according to reason of State, and be practis'd by Statists, without imputation of folly, especially in cases of extremity, when a Prince sees himself brought to such an exigence, that he has no hopes of help by any lawful means; and yet persuad's himself

self that some Act, accounted a Sin or Offence to God, may procure him some remedy; for example, some fraudulent dealing, Perjury, Murder or such like: For thô, say the Politicians, that in cases where there is freedom of Election of good or evil Policies, it may perhaps be convenient to use good, and avoid the bad; yet when the case seems to be desperate, and no choice left, but either to practise some wicked Policy, or to suffer the State to perish, then at least, say they, reason of State requires that the State shou'd be conserv'd by any means whatsoever.

2. For the satisfaction of this difficulty, 'tis to be consider'd, that every thing which succeeds well in matter of State, cannot be sayd to be according to reason of State, or to be well and wisely done; because the success not only of very bad, but also of very foolish designs, is many times according to the common saying very good by chance, or rather by the permission, or secret disposition of Almighty God; who as I have often signifi'd, disposes of the Affairs of Men, not according to their Wills or Wishes, but according to his own Holy Will, and secret Judgments; drawing always good out of evil, and turning the worst Intentions and Actions of the wicked'st Men in the World, to the good of others, and his own Glory, one way or other.

3. Therefore a Prince who sees himself reduc'd to such an extremity, that he may think it needful to use some wicked Policy, is to consider that

that the Calamity which he either suffers or fears, cannot happen unto him without God's special Providence, but rather by his just Ordination, either for his trial and exercise, or for the just punishment of his own Sins, or those of his Parents or Predecessors, or perhaps for the Sins of the People, as I have sufficiently prov'd heretofore. (a)

4. If it be only for his trial, that is to say, to prove and try his Faith and Hope in God, and to exercise his Patience (for which causes God suffer'd Job and Tobias (b) to be Tempted, and often permits his best beloved Servants to fall into difficulties) what other effect can wicked Policy work, than that the affliction which God lay'd upon him for his benefit and special good ; shou'd turn by God's Just Judgment, to his utter ruin both of Body and Soul.

5. And if the affliction be a punishment of Sin in any kind, he cannot with any reason conceive that the same can be remedy'd by sinful, and wicked means ; whereby the cause of his affliction will be increas'd, and God's Indignation and Wrath farther kindl'd against him and his State ; and much less can he hope, either to force or frustrate the Will of God by Policies and Devices : As we Read that divers wicked Princes have labor'd to do, and gain'd nothing else in the end, but either a note of extream folly and impiety ; or else utterly ruin'd themselves and their States ; and as the Tragical Poët

(a) Tom. 2. chap. 17. num. 24, 25. & 26. (b) Job. 1, 2, 3, 4, 10. Tob. 12.

well expresses. (a) — *Ad fatum venere suum, dum fata timebant; They came to their fatal end, whilst they fear'd, or sought to avoid their fate;* that is, they made themselves the instruments of God's Will and Justice, to execute the same upon themselves.

6. And thô I have prov'd this already by many examples of Princes, who have perish'd by their own wicked Policies; yet I will add here a few more examples of such, who having had some light, and understanding of God's Will, concerning themselves or their States, have sought by some impious Policies either to elude or avert it.

7. To which purpose 'tis by the way to be noted, that Almighty God do's sometimes for secret causes, known only to his Infinite Wisdom, reveal his own hidden and secret Councils, not only to wicked Men, as he did to *Caiphas*; (b) but also to wicked Spirits, by the Ministry of his Angels, as Saint *Austin* witnesseth; (c) by which means the Devils did truly foretell to the Pagans many things, which depended only upon the Will of God: Whereof there has been also, and still is, sufficient experience amongst Christians, in the detestable practise of Negromancy and Witchcraft.

8. For thô the Devil, who is (d) *A Lyer, and the Father of Lyes;* do's commonly Ly, and delude those that deal with him, yet he do's at other times truly foretell things to come, either by chance or by conjecture, or else such things

(a) *Seneca in Oedip.* (b) *Ioan. ii.* (c) *Aug. de Genesi ad litteram ca. 17.* (d) *Ioan. 8.*

as proceed from Natural causes whereof he has an exact knowledge; or else such other things as depend upon his own Power and Will, by the permission of God; or lastly such things, as it pleases Almighty God to reveal unto him, for the execution of his secret Judgments.

9. Therefore to come now to the examples which I promis'd; (a) *Alexander King of Epirus*, having understood by an Oracle of *Jupiter*, that he shou'd Die near to the River *Acherusia*, and the City *Pandosia*, of which Names there was a City and River in his own Kingdom of *Epirus*; thought to avoid the same, by leaving his Country, and making War abroad in *Italy*: Where he was Slain within a while after, near to a River and City so call'd, as above mention'd. *Non prius*, says *Justin*, (b) *fatalis loci cognito nomine quam occiderit*; Not knowing the Name of that fatal place, before he Dy'd in it.

10. Also the wicked Emperor *Anastasius*, of whom I have before spoken, (c) being fore-warn'd that he shou'd be Kill'd with a Thunderbolt, Built a Marvellous strong House call'd *Tholotum*, (d) and besides many strange Labyrinths, and places of retreat for his safety, he made a deep Cistern in the bottom of all the House, whither he meant to retire himself when he shou'd see cause; nevertheless, he was Kill'd shortly after (e) with a Thunderbolt, as he was running in time of great Thunder, from one Chamber to another, to get down to his

(a) *Justin lib. 12.* (b) *Ibid.* (c) *Tom. 2. lib 7.
num. 8.* (d) *Zonar. annal. To. 3.* (e) *Cedram.*

Cistern; to whom it might have been sayd, as a Poët says of Enceladus the Giant, who flying away from Jupiter, was as the Poëts fain, struck with a Thunderbolt, and cast under Mount Etna. — *Quo fugis Encelade? Quascunque accesseris oras, sub Jove semper eris; Whither dost thou fly Enceladus? What Coast soever thou shalt come unto, thou shalt ever be under Jupiter;* that is, under the Hand of God: Which the Psalmist teaches excellently well saying; (a) *Whither shall I go O Lord, from thy spirit; or whither shall I fly from thy Face? If I ascend up to Heaven thou art there; if I descend down to Hell, thou art there also; if I take VVings early in the Morning, and dwell in the farthest part of the Sea, there also thy Right Hand will lay hold of me.* Thus says the Psalmist, to shew the Vanity and Folly of wicked Men, who think to escape the Hand of God.

11. No less vain, and much more impious was the endeavour of the Emperor Valens, (b) to Annul God's Ordination: For having consulted with Negromancers concerning the Name of his Successor, and being told that it shou'd begin with *Theod*, (c) he caus'd a great number of persons to be made away, of whom some were call'd *Theodosius*, some *Theodotus*, some *Theodusius*, and some *Theodorus*; and amongst the rest he most ungratefully Murder'd the Valiant Captain *Theodosius*, (d) after he had recover'd Africk from his Enemies, and gave order also, to Kill *Theodosius*

(a) Psal. 138. 8. (b) Paul. Diac. lib. 12. (c) Oris: lib. 7. (d) Ammian lib. 29.

his Son, (a) whom nevertheless, Almighty God deliver'd from that danger, and after made him Emperor, whereby the Prediction was fulfill'd.

12. In like manner, the Emperor *Andronicus Comnenus*, (b) guessing by the Letters I. S. which were shew'd him by a Conjuror in a Basin of Water, that his Successors Name shou'd be *Isacius*, thought to Kill *Isacius Angelus*, whom by that means he made Emperor, and wrought his own destruction, as I have before signifi'd. (c)

13. To these I will add only one more out of our own Country, of *Edward the IV. King of England*; who having understood, as 'tis suppos'd by some Prophecy, that one whose Name did begin with a G. shou'd procure the destruction of his Children after his Death, caus'd his Brother *George Duke of Clarence*, (d) to be Murder'd in the Tower; not at all suspecting his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, who fulfill'd the Prophecy, if it was one, or the Prediction, if inspir'd by the Holy Ghost, and not rather some device of the Devil, which I think more probable; because it induc'd King *Edward* to the Murder of his Brother: Whereupon the destruction also of his own Children, which he endeavor'd thereby to prevent, might very well follow, throu' the severity of God's Judgments, who many times punishes

(a) *Ambros. in fine oratio. in fun. Theodos.*

(b) *Nicet chroniat. Annal. lib. 3. d^o Andro. Com.*

(c) *Tom. 2. chap. 6. num. 33. G 34.* (d) *Poliot.*
lib. 24.

Sinners, by that, which they most fear, and seek by wicked means to avoid; and therefore *Salomon* says, a) That which the wicked Man fears, I shall fall upon him.

14. But leaving this to God's secret Judgments, 'tis to be noted in these Examples, how dangerous a thing it is in a Prince, to be curious to know God's secret Counsels and Decrees, concerning himself, and his State; whereby many Princes have been drawn, to use the help of Necromancers and Sorcerers, to God's great offence, and consequently to their own destruction; there being no Sin, which God has and do's punish more than this: As we may easily perceive, both by the express prohibition thereof in many places of the Holy Scriptures; (b) as also by the severe Judgments of God upon the *Babylonians*, *Amerheans*, *Pherezians*, *Chanaeans*, *Heveans*, *Iebusians*, and divers other people destroy'd in the Land of Promise with their Kings, to the number of one and thirty, as the Scripture testifies, chiefly for their Witchcrafts, Enchantments and Negromancy: (c) And therefore *Moyses* warn'd the Children of *Israell* before they came into the Land of Promise, that they shou'd not imitate those Infidels in these Sins, concluding; *For our Lord do's abhor all these, and for these kind of Sins he will utterly destroy them at their entrance.* (d)

15. And if it be also consider'd, what delusion
the Devil uses in Sorcery, and how little truth
may be known thereby, 'twill evidently appear how

(a) Proverb, ca. 10. (b) Levit. 19. & 20. Ver. 26.
Deut. 18. Isay 47. (c) Deut. ca. 18. (d) Ibid.
vain

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vain and frivolous the practise thereof is. For whereas he seems to be subject to the Sorcerer or Magician, as either forc'd by Enchantments, or bound by Covenant; yet 'tis but meer fraud, and deceit on his part; because he can neither be forc'd by Man, or by any natural means, being of nature and power, superior to the nature and power of Man; neither can he be farther bound by Covenant, than he himself pleases; which is never longer than he may hope thereby to do Man some particular mischief: Moreover, the Devils neither know such things as meerly depend upon the Will of God, or Man, as I have already shew'd; (a) nor will they for the Malice and Envy to Man, tell him the truth of such things as they know; but to the end only, to do him some hurt and mischief one way or other; which also God of his Justice many times permits, revealing unto them his own secret Judgments, for the just punishment and greater confusion of those who confide in 'em; to whom they use to signifie the same in such Riddles, and with such Ambiguity, that thô they only denounce unto them, God's Sentence giv'n against 'em for their destruction; yet they feed 'em with false hope of prosperous success; to make 'em run headlong to their own ruin: Whereof many strange Examples might be alledg'd out of the Ancient Histories of Pagans, which for brevety's sake I omit, and content my self to relate two or three out of later Histories.

(a) *Supradum, 3.*

16. Ferrand Count of Flanders assisted by the Emperor *Otho* the IV. or as some call him, the V. of that name, being on the point of giving Battle to Philip King of France call'd the *August*, was greatly encourag'd thereunto by his Mother, upon the Prediction of certain Magicians, with whom she had Consulted; who assur'd her that the King of France shou'd be overthrown in the Battle, Trodden under the Horses Feet, and not Bury'd; and that the Count her Son, shou'd be receiv'd by the *Parisians* with great Joy : (a) All which fell out to be true, thô in another manner than she expected; for thô the King of France was so prest by his Enemies, that he was thrown down from his Horse, and Trodden under the Horses Feet, yet he was rescu'd by his Soldiers, and having won the Battle, took the Count of Flanders, and sent him Prisoner to Paris; at which the *Parisians* very much rejoyc'd: And so we see, says the Story, how the Count trusting to Sorcerers, instead of a Crown which he expected, purchas'd a Prison. (b)

17. We Read also of the like deceit and illusion of the Devil, in the assurance which a Sorceress gave to *Machbeth* King of Scotland; to wit, that no Man Born of a Woman, shou'd be able to Kill him; whereby he was animated to use all Cruelty towards his Subjects; and in the end was Slain by *Macdulf* Earl of Fife; who was not Born of his Mother, but cut out of her Belly. This is reported by *Hector Boëtius* (c) in

(a) *Gaguin. Annal. France, lib. 6.* (b) *Idem. Ibid.*

(c) *Hector Boethius. lib. 13.*

the History of Scotland; out of whom I will also add another Example of God's Just Judgments, upon such as Consult with Sorcerers, and of the Devils Malicious subtily in procuring their destruction.

18. *Nathalocus King of Scotland*, sent a great Favourite of his to inquire of a Famous Witch, what shou'd be the succets of a War he had in Hand, and about other things concerning his own Person and State: To whom she answer'd, that *Nathalocus* (a) shou'd not live long, and that he shou'd be Kill'd by some of his own Servants; and being farther urg'd to tell by whom, she sayd, that the Messenger himself shou'd Kill him; who thô he departed from her with great disdain, and even revil'd her, protesting that he wou'd suffer ten thousand Deaths rather than he wou'd do it; yet at his return, thinking better upon the matter, and imagining by the Devils suggestion, that the King might come to know by one means or other, the Witches Answer, and suspect him ever after, or perhaps make him away, resolv'd to Kill him; which he presently after perform'd: Wherein we may see the Craft and Malice of the Devil, who thirsting after Man's Blood and Perdition, fram'd such an Answer to his Messenger, as he thought most likely to move him to the Murder of *Nathalocus*, who sent him; which also God of his Justice permitted for the just punishment of the sinful and wicked Curiosity of *Nathalocus*, in

(a) *Hector Boeth. li. 6.*

seeking to know his secret Judgments, by such unlawful means.

19. Wherefore I shall conclude this Point, with the Counsel of the Preacher in the Holy Scripture, who says, (*a*) *Search not after things higher than thy self, but always think of those things which God has commanded thee, neither be thou curious in prying into many of his Works¹, for 'tis not necessary for thee to see those things which are bid.* Whereby the curiosity of Men, in searching into the secrets of God, is very much blam'd.

20. But now to return to the matter which I had in Hand, it appears sufficiently by what I have sayd, not only how dangerous it is, for Men to be curious to know God's Judgments by unlawful means, but also how vain and frivolous Man's inventions are, when he seeks to cross, or frustrate the Will of God; which is not to be overturn'd by Force, nor to be avoided by Policy; but is only exorable and flexible by Prayer and Pennance; by which means God's Mercy has been often, and no doubt is Daily mov'd, to reverse the rigorous Sentences of his Justice, giv'n against Sinners: Whereof we have examples in the *Ninivits* (*b*) whom God determin'd to destroy, and yet spar'd for their Repentance; and in *Achab King of Israel*, (*c*) who having receiv'd Sentence of the destruction of his whole Family, from the Mouth of the Prophet, by Humility and Repentance, obtain'd the

(*a*) Eccli. 3. . (*b*) Ioan. 3. . (*c*) Reg. 21.

deferring

deferring of it, in respect whereof God sayd to Elias. (a) Because he has humbl'd himself for my sake, I will not inflict the punishment of his Sin upon his House in his Days, but in the Days of his Son. (b) Also Ezechias being Sick, and admonish'd from Almighty God by the Prophet, that he shou'd Die of that Disease, obtain'd by Prayers and Tears, not only present recovery, but also prolongation of Life for fifteen Years; as I have signifi'd before, (c) where I have by many examples, shew'd the admirable effect of Prayer and Spiritual means, for the remedy of the necessities of Princes; and therefore shall speak no farther thereof in this place.

21. But says the Polititian, how many have Pray'd when they have been brought to extremities, and have had no help? When some others by some Perjury, Murther, or other such like mischief have conserv'd their States.

22. Whereunto I Answer, that the Question here, as I have before insinuated, is not of the event and success of Mens Actions, which is only in the Hand of God, and dispos'd by him according to his secret Judgments, but of the likely-hood and probability of help in extremities, by the one means, or by the other; for I cou'd also with much more reason demand, how many have perish'd by wicked Policies? Whereas infinite others have conserv'd themselves, and their States by having recourse to God, and Godly means; of both which sorts, I have alledg'd many re-

(a) 4 Reg. 20. (b) Num. 2. 6. 7. 10. 13. 14. 23.
25. &c 28, Num. 8. &c 9. (c) Tom. 1. ch. 15. &c 21
mark-

markable Examples throu'out this whole Discourse.

23. But that which I wish shou'd be observ'd for the better explication of this matter, is, that God do's sometimes absolutely determine to destroy a Prince or State; as when he sayd of the People of *Juda*, that thô *Moyses* and *Samuel* shou'd Pray for 'em he wou'd not spare 'em: And sometimes again he absolutely determin's to conserve a State for a time; as when he promis'd *Jeihu*, that his Posterity shou'd Sit in his Seat till the fourth Generation. (a) In the first case thô neither good nor bad Policy, nor even Prayer can conserve the State (I mean when God absolutely determin's to destroy it) yet 'tis to be understood that wicked Policy may throu' the severity of God's Justice, accelerate and aggravate the threaten'd calamity; whereas good Policy joyn'd with confidence in God, and pure Devotion, may move his Divine Majesty, to execute his Judgments with much more Mercy; and to turn all the Temporal affliction of the Prince to his Eternal good; which in that case, were the greatest benefit that cou'd be desir'd, as I shall declare hereafter. (b)

24. In the second case, I mean when God absolutely determin's to conserve a State, 'tis not to be doubted but that wicked Policy may by God's permission, be a means thereof, and farther the execution of his secret Judgments, thô nevertheless the Prince that shou'd practise the

(a) *Ierem.* 15. 4 *Reg.* 15. (b) *Infra num.* 31.
32. & 33.

same shou'd, commit a notorious folly; because he might in that case maintain his State by lawful and good Policy, with less danger, and much more benefit both to himself and others. And this I say, because God uses many times the wicked Policies of Men, for the conservation of States, when his absolute Will is to maintain 'em; which nevertheless he wou'd conserve by the means of their lawful and good Policies, if the fault were not in themselves. To which purpose 'tis to be understood, that Almighty God, having giv'n freedom of Will to Man, for such causes as I have before declar'd, (a) do's not necessitate, or force Man's Will, but uses it as it is, moving it always to good, and yet serving himself of it, be it good or bad, for his own Glory, and the accomplishment of his Will.

25. Wherefore I say, that whensoever he conserves the States of Princes, by means of their bad Wills, and wicked policies, he wou'd much rather work the same effect by their good Wills, and lawful endeavours, if they themselves wou'd; yea and even yield 'em withal, not only Temporal but also Eternal Rewards for the same: Whereas on the other side thô he suffers their wicked Policies to have good success for a time, so long I mean, as he intends to conserve their States, during which time they cannot by any Errors or folly of theirs overthrow 'em, yet he commonly punishes 'em for it in the end,

(a) Tom. 1. ch. 24. num. 4. 5. 6. 7. &c.

not only Eternally, if they Repent not; but also Temporally, either in their Persons or States, or at least in their Children and Posterity: As 'tis evident in the wicked Tyrants mention'd in the last Chapter; (*a*) who thô they prosper'd for a while, yet at length perish'd miserably, throu' God's Justice: And those few of 'em which escap'd Temporal punishment in their own Persons, left their Children engag'd to pay their debt by their utter ruin.

26. Besides 'tis to be consider'd, that a wicked Policy throu' God's permission, as I have sayd, (*b*) may some way benefit the State, and help to uphold it for a time; and yet draw God's Wrath and Vengeance upon it some other way; whereby it will not only perish in the end, but also in the mean time be miserably afflicted: As the use of unwholesome Meats gives the Body strength, and nourishes it for a time, and yet so corrupts it, that it perishes much the sooner, and is in the mean time replenish'd with Diseases.

27. This was manifest in the Kingdom, and Kings of *Israel*: For whereas they all continu'd the wicked Policy of *Jeroboam*, their first Predecessor, for the conservation of their State, to wit their Idolatry and Schism, which was first begun by *Jeroboam* (*c*) for reason of State; 'tis not to be doubted, that Almighty God, having determin'd to maintain that Kingdom for some time, permitted that wicked Policy to have the effect,

(*a*) Tom. 2. ch 7. nu. 26 36 37. &c. (*b*) Ibid.
num. 42. 43. &c. (*c*) 3 Reg. 12.

for which it was devis'd; that is to say, to divert the people from going to the Temple in *Jerusalem*, (a) and consequently from returning to the Obedience of the Kings of *Juda*: And yet nevertheless he punish'd the same very severely, sometimes in the Princes, and sometimes in the State, as 'tis evident in the Holy Scriptures; where it appears that not only *Feroboam* (b) himself was strucken by the Hand of God, and all his Children destroy'd for the same, but also all the Kings his Successors dy'd violent Deaths; either the Father or the Son, excepting the Children and Posterity of *Iehu*, (c) who were privileged, as I have sayd before, for four Descents; wherein 'tis also to be noted, that during the time of the privilege granted to their Persons, their States were miserably afflicted for the continuance of that wicked Policy, thô not overthrown; by reason of the Covenant which God had made with *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*; for which, says the Scripture, (d) *God wou'd not destroy them, nor utterly cast 'em off as yet*, thô at length he gave the Kings their Successors, and all the people into the Hands of the Kings of *Affyria* (e) to perpetual Captivity for the continual practise of the same sinful Policy.

28. Thus then we see, how wicked Policy may by God's permission some way help to the conservation of State, so long as God has ordain'd

(a) 3 Reg. 12. (b) 2 Paral. ca. 13. 3 Reg. 15.
(c) 4 Reg. 10. & 15. 4 Reg. 13. & 14. (d) 4 Reg.
14. (e) 4 Reg. 13.

that

that the State shall stand, and yet may in the mean time, throu' God's Justice, procure the Calamity of the Prince and State some other way, and the destruction of both in the end.

29. But now 'tis to be consider'd, that the Will and Determination of Almighty God, to destroy or conserve States, is not always so absolute, but that he may be mov'd by the Merits or Demerits of Men to uphold the State, which he meant to destroy; and to destroy that which he meant to uphold. He determin'd as I sayd before, to destroy the *Ninivits*, (a) and all the Family of *Achab* (b) for their Sins; and denounc'd his Will unto them by his Prophets, and yet he conserv'd the one, and deferred the execution of the other for sometime, in respect of their Humility and Repentance. On the other side, God promis'd to *David* (c) that the Kingdom of *Iuda* shou'd remain for ever in his Posterity, if they serv'd him, and kept his Commandments; thô in respect of his promise, and for *Davids* sake, he conserv'd it in his time, and after it, (d) for many Generations, and divers times defended it from Forraign Enemies; yet at length utterly destroy'd it for the Sins of it's Kings and People. So that we see in both these cases, that good Policy assisted with Prayer, and Spiritual help, may be a special means to uphold and maintain the State and wicked Policy, as also all kind of Sin, be a

(a) *Ioan. 3.* (b) *3 Reg. 21.* (c) *Psal. 138.*

(d) *1 Reg. 7.* *3 Reg. 11.* *Paral. 21.* (e) *4 Reg. 20.*

chief

chief or rather the only means to overthrow it.

30. Wherefore, forasmuch as the Judgments of God are secret, and not ordinarily known but by the effect; his Infinite Wisdom having so ordain'd, to the end we may thereby the better know, and acknowledge our dependance on his Will, it behoves Princes, yea and all other Men in all dangers and extremities, to imitate the Holy and Prudent King *David*, whom I the rather propose for an example to Princes in this Point; because the wicked *Machiavel* most falsely, and prophanly makes him a Pattern for a Tyrant, as I will more fully declare in the next Chapter, where I shall confute *Machiavels* impious, and absurd Calumnyation against him and *Moyses* in that behalf; and evidently shew that they were both of 'em, the true Mirrour of Princeely Perfection: (a) And in the mean time concerning King *David*, and the matter in hand, 'tis to be consider'd, that when his wicked Son *Absalon* rose against him, and forc'd him to fly with a few out of *Jerusalem* bare Headed, bare Footed and Weeping; he acknowledg'd it to be a just punishment of God for his Sins: And as on the one side, he us'd all Human diligence to defend himself, and to discover and dissipate the designs of his Enemies; so also on the other side, he sought to move Almighty God to Mercy by Prayer, Patience and Resignation of his Will to God's, saying to *Sadoc* the Priest; *If I find favor*

(a) Tom. 2. ch. 9, num. 13.



in

in the Sight of God, he will restore me, but if he says unto me, thou do'st not please or content me, I am ready to Obey him, let him do with me whatsoever it shall please him. Moreover, he not only avoided all unlawful Policies that might offend God, but also forbore to take a just Revenge of the injury done him by *Semei*, whose reproachful Speeches and Maledictions he patiently suffer'd, as justly permitted by Almighty God for his punishment, saying to *Abisai* who woud have Kill'd *Semei*; *Let him rail against me, for perhaps our Lord may behold my affliction, and render me good this Day for his Malediction.* Such was the Religious Humility of the Wise and Valiant King in this his great affliction, which was so grateful to Almighty God, that he gave him a great Victory, and restor'd him to his former Peace and Dignity.

31. The like Humility, Patience and Resignation of Will, he shew'd also in other occasions, even when he found not that Mercy and favor at God's Hands which he expected. When the Prophet *Nathan* had signifi'd unto him the Will of God, for the Death of his Child in the Cradle, in punishment of his Adultery and Homicide; (a) he never ceas'd to Crave his Mercy for the Life of his Son with continual Prayer, Tears and Fasting, shut up in his Chamber, and prostrate upon the ground for some Days, after his Son fell Sick; not omitting any other lawful means for his Recovery, until he understood

(a) 2 Reg. 13.

by his Servants that he was Dead ; and then seeing by the effect, what was the Will of God, he most humbly contented himself therewith, Wash'd and Anointed himself, chang'd his Apparel, went to the House of God to Pray, refresh'd himself with Meat, and was in such Consolation, that he comforted Bersabe his Wife and all his Family ; saying unto them, when they ask'd him why he was so sorrowful whilst the Child was alive, and found such a comfort now he was Dead ; (a) I Fasted, says he, and Wept *wbilst he Liv'd*, because I knew not whether God wou'd grant me his Life, or no ; but now that he is Dead, why shou'd I afflict my self any longer ? As if he wou'd say, now that I see what is the Will of God, what shou'd I do else, but accommodate my self to it, and rejoyce in the accomplishment thereof.

32. Thus sayd, and did, this Holy King and Prophet, and so shou'd all Kings and Princes say, and do in like cases, imploring the Favor and Mercy of God, whilst they can have any hope ; saying also with Job : (b) Altho' he Kill me I will hope in him, not omitting any lawful policy or diligence which can be us'd, to procure a remedy ; and contenting themselves with God's Will in the success, whatsoever it be, acknowledging his Justice therein. Whereof I have before alledg'd an extraordinary example in Mauritius the Emperor, (c) who having understood God's Will, concerning the loss of his Life

(a) 2 Reg. 12. 22, 23. (b) Job. 13. 15: (c) Tom. 2. chap. 35. num. 30.

and Empire, by means of *Phocas* for the punishment and satisfaction of his Sins in this Life; labor'd nevertheless by continual Prayer, and all kind of Devotion, to pacifie the Wrath of God; using also all lawful policy and diligence, to prevent the danger, and to defend himself against *Phocas*, (a) and in the end when nothing cou'd prevail, and that he saw himself in the Hands of his Enemy, and his Children Kill'd before his Face, he humbly acknowledg'd the Justice of God, often repeating these words of the Psalmist; (b) *Thou art just O Lord, and thy judgments are right.*

33. We Read also the like, of the Holy and Pious, thô most unfortunate King *Henry* the VI. who having joyn'd all lawful policy with Prayer, and other Spiritual means, for the Conservation of his State; and finding no remedy thereby, attributed all his Calamity, as *Polidore* witnesseth, (c) to the just punishment of God for his Sins, and the Sins of his Ancestors; thô his own Vertue, or rather Innocency was such, that if God hid not, as it may be presum'd, irrevo-cably Decreed, to lay the Temporal penalty of some Sins of his Ancestors upon him, it might have obtain'd God's favor towards him, as well Temporally for the Conservation of his State, as it did Spiritually for his Eternal Glory; testifi'd by so many remarkable Miracles, that King *Henry* the VII. demanded his Canonization of Pope *Julius* the II. and had obtain'd it, had he

(a) *Zonar. Annal. 10, 3. in Mauritius.* (b) *Paul. Diacon. lib. 17. Psal. 118. 137.* (c) *Polid. lib. 23.*

not dy'd before it was effected: Whereby it appears how admirable is the effect of Prayer, Humility and Resignation of Will, to the Will of God, when he do's absolutely determine to destroy a Prince, whose Temporal loss of a Transitory State subject to all Misery, is thereby recompenc'd with an incomparable gain of Eternal felicity; whereas by wicked policy he can neither conserve the one, nor gain the other, but shall pass from one Misery to another incomparably greater; that is to say, from a Temporal Calamity, to unspeakable and everlasting Torments.

C H A P. IX.

A Confutation of Machiavel's Impudent and Impious Calumny of the Holy Prophets and Princes, Moyses and David; whom he makes Patterns of Cruelty and Tyranny; whereas they were true Mirrors of Justice, Piety, Virtue, and all Princely Perfection; lastly, certain conclusions are drawn out of the whole Treatise.

IN the precedent Chapter I propos'd Holy David for a pattern to Princes in their Calamities, as also I have elsewhere done the like upon other occasions, in respect of his excellent Vertues; and therefore, forasmuch as Machiavel do's most Impudently and Impiously Calumniate not only him, but also Moyses, proposing 'em to his Tyrant for Examples to move him to Cruelty and Impiety; I think good in this last Chapter, as well to clear 'em from that Imputation, as also to make it evident, that they were, as I may say, the perfect Models, by which all Wise and Virtuous Princes ought to frame their Lives and Actions, for the benefit of their Subjects, and their own Honor and Security.

2. First then concerning *Moyses*, whereas *Machiavel* affirms, that the Wise and Attentive Reader of Scripture, will easily perceive, that *Moyses* did Establish his Dominion with infinite Slaughters of Men; the contrary of which is so evident in Scripture, that any Man cannot but wonder at the Monstrous Impudency of *Machiavel* in abusing the same, seeing that it testifies expressly of *Moyses* that he was, (a) *The Meekest Man, above all that then Liv'd upon the Earth*, which may also be prov'd by so many Examples throu'out the whole course of his Government; that whosoever Reads the same, if he be Wise and Attentive, will not say as *Machiavel* do's; but thô he shou'd be never so simple or supinely negligent in noteing what he Reads, yet he will not be of *Machiavels* Opinion, but will see that *Moyses* was as free from all Vice, Ambition and Tyranny, as *Machiavel* was from Virtue, Piety and Truth.

3. For *Moyses* did not only thrice refuse the Government of the people, when offer'd him by Almighty God himself; but also having accepted it out of Obedience only, and not out of Ambition, did so manage it, that he shew'd himself no less Prudent, Just and Valiant, than Religious and Pious; and being by Office not only a King, but also a Priest, he did so perfectly joyn the Contemplative Life with the Active, that he fully discharg'd his Duty in both, as Saint *Gregory* well observ'd, in these

(a) Num. 12. 3.

words. (a) Moyses, says he, do's often go in and out of the Tabernacle; and as within he is ravish'd with Contemplation, so abroad he is presid with the affairs and busines of the weak; within, he considers the secrets of God; abroad, he bears the burthens of Carnal Men; also in all doubtful matters he has recourse to the Tabernacle, and Consults with God before the Ark of the Testament; giving an excellent Example to all Governors, that when they have any doubt how to dispose of Forraign Affairs, they may retire within themselves, as 'twere, into the Tabernacle, and Consult with our Lord, as before the Ark of the Testament.

4. But to come to the point of Machiavels Calumnia, touching the many Slaughters and Marders committed by Moyses; what other cou'd they be which Machiavel means, but the Death of these twenty-three thousand Men, who were Kill'd by the Commandment of Moyses for Adoring the Golden Calf? (b) Wherein 'tis evident by the testimony of the Holy Scripture, that Moyses did not intend either the Revenge of any injury done to himself, or the carrying on of any Ambitious design, or desire of his own, but the satisfaction of God's Justice, shewing himself therein to be no less Pious, than prudent, in seeking by the punishment of some, to avert the Wrath of God from the rest of the people; and to deliver 'em from utter subversion and ruin, which God had threaten'd 'em, and they justly deserv'd for their horrible Ingratitude and Idolatry.

(a) *Greg. de past. cura par, ca. 5.* (b) *Exod. 32. 6.*

5. And

5. And this, I say, Moyses endeavor'd to procure, partly by the execution of Justice upon some, and partly by his Prayers to Almighty God for the rest; but by what manner of Prayer did he do this? Truly, by such as cannot but move us to wonder, at the great excess of his Charity; (a) *O Lord, says he, either forgive them this fault, or if thou do'st not, blot me out of the Book thou hast Written.* O admirable Prayer! O stupendious Charity, and Love of a Prince towards his Subjects! Whose Salvation he so much desir'd, that he did not desire to be Sav'd himself, if they perish'd. Whereupon Saint Chrysostom says, (b) *Moyses Lov'd so many thousands of Men, more than a Father Loves his Children; for there was never yet any Father, that desir'd to perish for his Children; especially not having himself any way offended.*

6. But of this fact of Moyses Saint Gregory Discourses excellently well. (b) *Moyses, says he, so Lov'd 'em, whom he Govern'd, that for them he spar'd not himself, and yet so punis'h'd the Offence of those whom he Lov'd, that he wou'd not spare 'em, even when God spar'd 'em, shewing himself herein both a wise Legate, and an admirable Mediator: He pleaded the Peoples Cause with God by Prayer, and God's Cause with the People by the Sword; for Loving 'em interiorly, he temper'd God's Wrath by his Prayers for 'em; and using severity outwardly, he expiated their Offence by punishing 'em; and therefore Almighty God did the sooner hear him, Praying for*

(a) Exod. 32. 32. (b) S. Chrysost. de Divina Provid. lib. 32. (c) S. Greg. in c. 33. lob. lib. 20, c. 8

the People, because he saw that he wou'd execute justice, as well as ask mercy for 'em; so that Moyses temper'd his Government in such sort, that there neither wanted Discipline nor Correction in his Mercy, nor Mercy in his Discipline.

7. But how great the Charity and Love of Moyses was towards the people, and his Authority with Almighty God; may sufficiently appear, by his so tying the Hands of God's Justice, as I may say, that they cou'd not take revenge upon the people; for when God requested him, that he wou'd suffer him utterly to abolish and extinguish 'em, and promis'd him also greater Dignities and Honors, the better to move him thereunto; yet neither their ingratitude towards himself, nor the hope of greater Dignity and Dominion, nor yet the Authority of God's request, cou'd induce him to abandon 'em. (a) Suffer me, says Almighty God, to extend my Wrath upon 'em, that I may extinguish 'em, and I will make thee Prince of a great Nation; but what did Moyses do? He Pray'd unto his Lord God, and left not off Praying till our Lord was pacifi'd.

8. This did Moyses not only when the people offended God, but also when they Rebell'd and Conspir'd against himself; for thô his Zeal to God's Honor and Service, was such, that he wou'd not suffer their Offences to God, to pass unpunish'd, yet he suffer'd with a great deal of patience their injuries done to himself; insomuch that when Almighty God Reveng'd his Cause

(a) Exod. ubi s:ip.

upon 'em, and punish'd 'em for the same, he sought to pacifie his Divine Majesty towards 'em, by all the means he was able. As when upon the return of the Spy's from the Land of *Chanaan*, the ungrateful and inconsiderate people distrusting God's Oracles and Promises, not only Murmur'd against *Moyses* and *Aaron*, but also resolv'd to return to *Egypt*, and to choose another Captain Governor to conduct 'em thither; Almighty God sayd unto *Moyses*, (a) *I will strike this People with a Pestilence, and destroy them*; but *Moyses* instantly crav'd pardon of God for 'em, and never ceas'd till God Answer'd him; *I have forgotten 'em according to thy word.* (b)

9. Moreover, when *Core* and his Fellows, pretending to make a Rebellion, incens'd the people against him and *Aaron*, by railing against 'em, and reviling 'em most opprobriously; he neither desir'd the Death, nor the punishment of any of 'em, but complaining only of their ingratitude towards him, and calling God to witness, that he had neither taken so much as an Ass from any of 'em, nor done 'em the least wrong or injury in the World, he left the matter to God's Judgment and Determination, saying, (c) *To Morrow God will make it known who belong to him, and whosoever he shall choose, he shall be Holy;* and when the manifest Plague and punishment of God fell upon 'em, the Earth open'd, and swallow'd up the chief *Conspirators*, together with their *Associat's*, yet nevertheless the Sedition,

(a) Num. 14. 11. (b) Num. 14. 20. (c) Num. 16. 5.

and

and Tumult of the people increas'd the Day following in such a manner, that *Moyses* and *Aaron* were fain to Fly to the Tabernacle, Almighty God biding 'em depart from amidst the people; because he wou'd now utterly destroy them with Fire, which already began to consume 'em

10. But *Moyses* was so far from seeking Revenge for their ingratitude, that he not only lay still prostrate upon the Earth, Praying to Almighty God for 'em, but also caus'd *Aaron* to take the Censors, and offer Incense for the Remission of their Sins, whereby the Fire ceas'd. And finally, when God punish'd 'em also afterwards with Firy Serpents, for Murmuring against *Moyses*, he obtain'd for 'em a remedy and release of their punishment. (a) *Moyses* *Pray'd*, says the Scripture, *for the People, and God sayd unto him, make a Brazen Serpent, and set it up for a Sign, and whosoever, that is stricken, shall behold it, shall Live.*

11. I omit many other manifest Examples and Arguments of *Moyses's* great Piety, Charity and Love towards the people, since these are sufficient to shew the impiety and absurdity of *Machiavel*, in charging him with Cruelty and Tyranny; whereas 'tis most evident, that he being the true Type and Figure of our Saviour himself, (b) was not only most Humble and Meek, but also adorn'd with all other Virtue, and with far greater priviledges of Nature and Grace, than ever any Man had besides himself; for he was a

(a) Num. 21. 7. 8. (b) Heb. 3. 8. Aug. Ser. 49.
de Verbis Domini.

Supream and Sovereign Prince, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal; a most Famous and Worthy Law-maker; and a most Valiant and Invincible Captain in War; no less admirable for his Supernatural and Miraculous Works, than renown'd for his Natural Gifts of Valour, Wisdom, and all kind of Knowledge, both Human and Divine; being not only an excellent Poët, and the Ancient'st for ought we know, that ever Writ, but also an eminent Philosopher, a profound Divine, as Saint Austin calls him, (a) and as Philo says, a most skilful Physician of Souls: Finally, he was a most Divine Prophet; so grateful and acceptable to Almighty God, that he Convers'd with him, Face to Face, and saw God, says the Scripture; (b) Manifestly and not by Figures, or Representations, as other Prophets did.

12. In which respect the Holy Ghost lays worthily of him in *Ecclesiasticus*, (c) Moyses was Belov'd of God and Man, whose Memory is Bless'd; God made him like to his Saints in Glory, and Magnifird him in the fear of his Enemies, and tam'd Monsters by his words; he glorifi'd him in the sight of Kings and commended him in the Presence of his People, and shew'd him his Glory; he made him Holy in Faith and Meekness, and chose him out of all Flesh. This testimony the Holy Scripture gives of Moyses; whereby it may appear how free he was from that Ambition, Tyranny and Cruelty, which Machiavel most wickedly imputes unto him.

(a) S. Aug. de Civit. lib 13. ca. 37. (b) Num. 12. 8. (c) Ecclesi. 45: 1. 2. 3.

13. Who is no less false and impious in his Fiction of the like Cruelty and Tyranny in the Holy King *David*, whom he is not ashamed to compare and couple with the wicked King *Philip of Macedon*, for Tyrannical Government: And the better to cover his absurd Ly with some shew of Scripture, he foolishly applics to him that which the Blessed Virgin *Mary* sayd of Almighty God himself, that (a) *He fill'd the Hungry with good things, and sent the Rich away empty*; and whereas the Holy Scripture testifies of *David*, that (b) *God sought a Man for himself, according to his Heart*: And that *David* (c) *Had God always before his Eyes*; that (d) *He Lov'd the Commandments of God above Gold and Precious Stones*; that he us'd (e) *Twice at Midnight to confess the Name of God*; that he (f) *Pray'd to God seven times in the Day*; that he *Esteem'd all Human help to be Vain*; (g) and therefore repos'd his whole trust and confidence in Almighty God; (h) calling him his Hope, his Rock, his Stay, his Shield, his Buckler, his Refuge.

14. Moreover, he also joyn'd the Prudence of the Serpent, with the Simplicity of the Dove, I mean true Reason of State, with Religion and Piety, (i) so that he made a perfect temperature and mixture of 'em both, having recourse in all occasions to the Priests and Prophets, to understand by them God's Holy Will: And when the same was not manifested unto him by them, he

(a) *Luc. 1. 53.* (b) *1 Reg. 13. 14.* (c) *Psal. 151. 8.* (d) *Psal. 127.* (e) *Psal. 118.* (f) *Ibid.* (g) *Psal. 59.* (h) *Psal. 17. & 143.* (i) *1 Reg. 22. 22.*
made

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made use not only of his own prudence, but also of the advice of his Wise Counsellors, yet in such sort, that he always acknowledg'd as well the direction, as the success of all his Consultation and Actions, to proceed wholly from the Providence and Will of God: (a) And such was the respect and reverence he bore to God's Prophets, that he punctually obey'd 'em when they either advis'd, admonish'd, or reprehended him: (b) And when he chanc'd by Human frailty to offend God, his Repentance was such, that he pour'd fourth streams of Tears, (c) and as he witnessess himself, with them he wash'd his Bed, and Water'd his Wine: *I have labor'd*, says he, *in my Sorrow, I will Night by Night wash my Bed with Tears;* (d) in another place, *I did Eat Ashes as Bread, and I mix'd my Drink with Tears.* (e)

15. Finally, the Scripture testifies of him, that *He did judgment and justice to all his People;* (f) joyning always Mercy with Justice, Lenity with Gravity, and an affable Benignity with Kingly Majesty; shewing himself in all occasions a true Father to his people, in Peace most Prudent, in War most Valiant and Invincible, in Adversity Constant and Magnanimous, in Prosperity Humble and Meek, in both Fortunes most Moderate and Wise, a most excellent Psalmist, a Divine Prophet, and a most Holy, Just and Wise King; who having Raign'd forty Years, and propagated the bounds of his Kingdom on all sides, and no

(a) 2 Reg. 11. (b) 3 Reg. 1. (c) Psal. 118.

(d) Psal. 6. (e) Psal. 101. (f) 2 Reg. 8.

less piously than wisely dispos'd of all things, as well concerning God's Service, as his own Temporal State, as the Scripture says, (*a*) *He Dy'd in a good Old Age, full of Days, Riches and Glory.*

16. Who now sees not, the execrable wickedness and impudency of *Machiavel*? Who durst match this most Holy and Prudent King, with *Philip King of Macedon*; a most perfidious Tyrant, and perjur'd Parricide; hateful to God and Man; and therefore worthily Slaughter'd in the end by his own Subjects. And if any Man object unto me the Murther committed by *Davids* Order, upon the person of *Vrias*, and his Adultery with *Bersabe*, he is to understand, that there's not any Example in all the Holy Scriptures more fit to confute the impious Doctrine of *Machiavel*, or to withdraw Princes from Sin and wickednets: Seeing that the grievous penalty due to Sin, and the rigour of God's Justice, is most manifestly discover'd therein.

17. For who is so wretched in Reading the History of *David*, that seeing his Sin, he do's not also take notice of the rigorous punishment thereof, by the untimely Death of his little Son, Dying in the Cradle; (*b*) the Conspiracy of his Son *Absalon*, (*c*) who rose against him; and not only took upon him the Kingly Title, but also publickly dishonor'd him in his Wives? (*d*) Wherein the rigour and exactnes of God's Justice may well be observ'd, ordaining the punishment

(*a*) 2 Paral. 19. (*b*) 2 Reg. 11. (*c*) Ibid. c. 15.
 (*d*) Chap. 16.

of David, correspondent to his Sin, as the Prophet foretold him, saying in the person of God; (a) I will take away thy Wives in thy sight, and I will give 'em to thy Neighbor, and he shall sleep with 'em in the sight of this Sun. For thou hast committed thy sin secretly, but I will do this in the sight of all Israel.

18. Furthermore, there's also a pittiful description of his lamentable departure out of Jerusalem, (b) when he fled bare foot, bare headed, accompany'd with a mournful Troop; lamenting with Tears, his and their own misery: Besides, the contumelious and reproachful Maledictions of Semei, (c) which he acknowledg'd, as a just punishment for his Sins, and therefore sayd to a Soldier who wou'd have reveng'd his quarrel, suffer him, to Curse me according to our Lord's Commandment, if perhaps our Lord may behold my Affliction. Finally, there's also related the Cruel and Bloody Battle, wherein Absalon with twenty thousand Men, was Slain; and thô David had the Victory, yet he was so far from rejoicing or triumphing at it, that he lamentably bewail'd the Death of his wicked Son and Enemy Absalon; thinking himself more miserable by his Victory in having lost his Son, than if he had himself been overcome by him: Now then, were not all these miseries the woful fruits of Sin? And therefore whosoever shall duly consider the same, he must needs detest the impious and absurd Doctrine of Machiavel, teaching that impiety may be profitable to a Prince.

(a) 2 Reg. 16. (b) Chap. 15. (c) Ibid.

19. But if any Man will be so inconsiderate, as for this cause to number *David* amongst wicked Princes, or to make him, as *Machiavel* do's, a pattern for a Tyrant, he is to understand, that this worthy King's fall and infirmity in this point, is so far from staining or obscuring the light of his Holy Life, that not unlike to a Shadow in a Picture, or a little Mole in a Beautiful Face, it makes it more Glorious; and a true Mirrour wherein Princes may see, not only the necessity of Vertue, and God's Benediction for the Conservation of their States; and the unspeakable dammage that happens thereunto by Sin and Wickedness; but also the means how to remedy their Errors committed by Human frailty: And lastly, how necessary it is for 'em, always to remember and fear, as well their own infirmity, as the rigour of God's Justice in the punishment of Sin.

20. Therefore let all Kings and Princes, be they good or bad, contemplate and behold the exemplar Life of this Holy King; if good, let 'em imitate his Religion, Piety, Justice, Valour, and other Vertues, that they may become better; and withal considering their own infirmity, may ever fear a fall, and labor to prevent it: If bad, and fallen, that they may rise again; and as they have Sinn'd with him, so they may also with him acknowledge, and bewaile their Sin; for many Princes follow *David* in Sining, and not in Repenting. Whereupon Saint *Ambrose* says excellently well; (a) David *Sinn'd*, as Kings are

(a) *D. Ambros. 1. Apolog. ca. 4.*

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wont to do, but he did Penance, Wept and Mourn'd for it, which Kings are not accustom'd to perform.

21. Moreover, let Princes learn by him, to prefer as he did, the common good of their Subjects, before their own particular; who when he saw his Subjects stricken by the Angel for his Sins, exclaim'd, saying to Almighty God; (*a*) 'Tis I O Lord, that have sinn'd, these who are only my Sheep, what have they done? I beseech thee, let thy Hand be turn'd towards me, and the House of my Father. (*b*)

22. Also let 'em learn by him that their Empires, Kingdoms and States, do not stand by their own Force or Strength, or by Human Counsel and Wisdom, but by God's protection; neither yet do they depend on their own Wills and pleasures, but on the Holy Will and Providence of Almighty God; which is evident in the Holy Scripture throu'out the whole course of his Reign.

23. Let 'em learn, that their Piety, Justice and a Virtuous Life, will be a means to avert God's Wrath as well from their Children and Posterity, as from themselves; seeing that Almighty God for *Davids* (*c*) sake, forbore to execute the rigour of his Justice, not only upon *Solomon* (*d*) his Son, but also many Years after, upon the Kings *Joram* and *Eze-
chias*. (*e*)

24. Let 'em learn, that Sin is the most dangerous, pestilent and mortal disease of Kings and

(*a*) 2 Reg. 24. (*b*) Psal. 32. 75. 143. (*c*) 3 Reg. 11. 2. (*d*) Paral. 21. 4. (*e*) Reg. 19.

their Kingdoms, and the very Fountain from which their Miseries and Calamities do flow; (a) and that therefore they have great cause to fear the severity of God's Judgments, whereby the penalty of their Sins may be extended to their Issue, and whole Posterity; as the Sin of David was, according to the Prediction of the Prophet Nathan; who foretold him, (b) *That the Sword shou'd never go out of his House*, for the Murther of *Vrias*, and his Adultery with *Bersabe*.

25. Moreover, let 'em know that they cannot with reason expect that their Subjects, Servants, Friends, Kinsfolks or Children, shou'd be Faithful and Loyal to them; if they be Faithless, Ungrateful, and become Traytors to their Lord and God; seeing that Justice and Reason requires, that the punishment be answerable to the fault; and therefore, that the disloyalty of Creatures towards their Creator, shou'd be punish'd with the Treachery and Ingratitude of such as are subject to them: Whereby it happens, that there are so many *Absalons* as we Daily see, I mean, so many Unnatural and Rebellious Children; such perfidious Treacheries of Domestical Servants; and such dangerous Conspiracies of Subjects against their Princes.

26. Finally, seeing that the Infirmity of this Holy King being weighed in the most equal Ballance of God's Justice, deserv'd so great a punishment as has been before declar'd; what do's the Impiety and Malice of *Machiavellism*

(a) Psal. 28. 16. &c. 75.

(b) 2 Reg. 22.

Tyrants

Tyrants deserve, I mean their extream Contempt of God, their horrible Frauds and Deceit's, Perjuries, Whoredoms, Murthers, and all kind of Mischief and Wickedness, which makes 'em odious both to God and Man; what else, I say, do's the same deserve, but what the Psalmist threatens in God's Name; (a) *It shall Rain Ropes and Halters upon Sinners, Fire, Brimstone, and the Spirit of Storms and Tempests, shall be their Part or Portion.* This therefore shall suffice for the present concerning Moyses and David, of whom I might, and wou'd have sayd much more, but that I shall have just occasion to do it afterwards; and therefore I will here only draw certain conclusions from what I have hitherto sayd.

27. The first is, that seeing Almighty God Governs all States by his Providence, and disposes of 'em, as it pleases him, as I have fully prov'd, it must needs follow, that thô sometimes out of his secret Judgments, he permits wicked policies to prosper, yet considering the severity of his Justice in punishing Princes and their States for Sin, and sometimes for very small Sins, in the Opinion of Men, as I have shew'd in my Rules for Young Statists; (b) therefore I say, no wicked Policy can stand with true Reason of State; the danger of God's indignation being so great, that no Man can be truly counted Wise, who will venture to presume thereupon; no more than any one might be sayd to

(a) Psal. 10. 7.

(b) Tom. 2. ch. 3. num. 4.

do wisely, who for his particular benefit shou'd use to Rob and Steal in a well Govern'd Common-wealth, where he shou'd as often incur the danger of the Law, thô perhaps he shou'd many times escape the same. Wherein nevertheless this difference is to be noted, that whereas Men do sometimes avoid the penalties of Laws; yet no Man can escape the Hand of God, if he offend him; but he must pay the penalty of his Sin some way or other, sooner or later, and so much the more grievously, by how much longer 'tis deferr'd; and most of all, if the whole punishment thereof be totally reserv'd to the next Life, which nevertheless is seldom seen in Tyrants and wicked Princes, as appears by what I have sayd before. (a)

28. The second conclusion shall be, that seeing I have also evidently prov'd throu'out this whole Discourse, that Man of his own nature is so infirm and weak both of Wit and Power, that he neither knows many times what is convenient for himself, and much less for others; nor yet can warrant the success of his own designs and wisest policies, by reason of the infinite accidents, crosses, and disappointments whereunto Mans Life, and all Human Affairs are subject. Moreover, I have also made it manifest by reason, and examples, not only that all Political Science is of it self insufficient, for the perfect Government of State; but also, that all true Wisdom

(a) Tom. 2, chap. 6. 7.

and Policy is from God; therefore it cannot be deny'd, but that the assistance of God's Grace and Protection, is most necessary for the good Government and assurance of all Princes States; whereupon also follows the necessity of true Religion for the Conservation of any State; seeing God do's by means thereof, most amply Communicate his Grace and Favor, as well to whole Common-wealths, as to particular Men; of which I shall farther Discourse, and more fully prove hereafter, where I am purposely to handle that matter; and shew as well the Dignity and necessity of true Religion in the Common-wealth, as also that the Catholick Religion, is most convenient for the State.

29. The third and last conclusion shall be, that all Wisdom or Policy grounded on Sin and wickedness, is meer folly, which may appear by that which I have taught and prov'd, as well concerning the punishment of God upon Princes and their States for Sin, as also touching true Wisdom and Policy; whereof I have before particularly and amply treated, and clearly prov'd, (a) that it consists principally in the Fear, Love and Service of God; and that no Man can possibly attain to any Perfection of Wisdom, without the Light of God's Grace, whereby Mans natural abilities are increas'd and perfected, and his defects supply'd, (b) and that according to the Doctrine of the best Philosophers, as well as our Divines, true Prudence and Virtue can-

(a) Tom. I. ch. 29. nn. 7, 8, 9, 10, Gc. (b) Ibid.
nn. 17, 18, 19, 20, Gc.

not be separated; and that 'tis most requisite to every prud'nt Action, that not only the end thereof, and the means to obtain the end, be good and vertuous; (a) but also that every good thing be esteem'd in the degree it deserves, and the chief good of all, which is God and his Service, be preferr'd before all other things whatsoever. (b) And finally, that 'tis the special Office of a Wise Man, most to esteem and seek, that which most imports him; which is the Salvation of his Soul, and his Eternal good; because as the Scripture says, (c) *The Wise Man is Wise for his Soul.* Whereupon it follows, that he who prefers transitory things, before those that are stable and permanent; and loses or ventures his Soul for any Worldly commodity or pleasure whatsoever, is no wiser than *Esaū*, (d) who Sold his Birth-right, for a Mels of Pottage; or *Æsops* Cock, that esteem'd a Barly Corn, more than a Precious Stone; or the Fool, who, as the Proverb says, *Will not give his Babel for the Tower of London*; and therefore such as value Honor, Riches, or other Worldly Commodities above Virtue, are worthily compar'd by *Aristotle* to Children, that esteem their Babies and Puppets more than Gold; and *Seneca* (e) accounts 'em more foolish than Children, because Children, says he, play the Fools in trifles, and matters of small moment, in which there is no danger; whereas these other are seriously foolish, or rather Mad in

(a) Tom. 2. ch. 28. nu. 12, 13, 14. (b) Ibid. nu. 15.
(c) Ibid. nu. 32. (d) Genes. ca. 25. (e) Seneca ep. 96.

matters

matters no less weighty than dangerous, as well to themselves, as to others; and therefore, says he, *Verius, cariusque insanum*; *They are more truly and costly Mad.* (a) For it costs 'em many times not only their Reputation and Honor; States and Lives, but even both Bodies and Souls.

30. So that they may say and exclaime with *Lysimachus*, (b) when being Besieg'd and vex'd with Thirst, who yielded himself Prisoner, and gave his Kingdom for a Draught of Water, which having Drunk, cry'd out; *O for how small and short a Pleasure have I lost a Kingdom!* Thus they may say with more reason, who change not one frail, and earthly thing, for another as he did, but Heavenly things for Earthly; Divine for Human; Eternal for Transitory; which admit no comparison. Moreover, they shew themselves to be no better, nor wiser then brute Beasts, which are led by Sense only, and vehemently mov'd by present Objects, without Discourse and Consideration of future things, or of the end which is chiefly to be consider'd by Man, to whom Nature hath given Reason to Discourse and Judge, not only of things present or past, but also of things to come; and especially of the last end of all Human Actions, wherein consists his Eternal felicity or misery. And therefore *Moyses* partly lamenting, and partly reprehending the absurd folly of such kind of Men says, (c) *These are a People without Counsel and Prudence,*

(a) *Ibidem.* (b) *Plutarch in Apopotheg. regum & principum.* (c) *Deut. 32. 28. 29.*

I woud to God they woud be wise, and understand, and foresee or provide for their last end.

31. Furthermore, how can these be counted truly Wise, whose Wisdom consists in perverting the whole course and order of Nature, and contradicting the principles and grounds of reason: For what is more conformable to Nature, or more evident in reason, than that the Soul excell's the Body, as Heaven do's Earth; and therefore, that the Goods and Gifts of the Mind, ought to be preferr'd before those of the Body; Heavenly things before Earthly; Reason before Sensuality; the Publick good before any Mans Particular; Eternal felicity before Temporal pleasure or commodity; and the Service and Glory of God, before all things else whatsoever; all which Nature ordains, Reason persuades, Philosophy, and all Learning teaches, the consent of the World confirm's, and Mans own Conscience within himself, proclaims to be True. Nevertheless the Politicians, and *Matchiavellians*, have found out a kind of Wisdom, and Policy, which they call Reason of State, contradicting all this; preferring the Body before the Soul, Earth before Heaven, Human things before Divine, Sensuality before Reason, and the Particular Pleasure of the Prince, before the General Good of the Common-wealth, Temporal Commodities before Eternal Felicity, and lastly whatsoever seem's to their corrupt Judgments to be according to Reason of State, the same they prefer before Conscience, Religion, and the Service of God; as thô there were either

no God to call 'em to an Account, or that he had nothing to do with 'em, or with the Affairs of Men. So that to make their Wisdom true Wisdom; their Policy good Policy; their Reason of State, good Reason; and themselves Wise Men; the whole course, and order of Nature must be chang'd, and all things turn'd upside down: The Soul must be made subject to the Body; Heaven to Earth; Reason to Sensuality; the Common good to a Private Advantage, and Temporal Goods to Eternal: And lastly, we must have a new Systeme of Nature, and either another God, or no God at all, or at least such a one, as shall have no Providence or care over the Affairs of Men.

32. What wonder is it then, that this kind of Wisdom and Policy overthrow's Princes, Subverts their States, and fill's the World with Miseries and Calamities? In which respect the Scripture call's it. (a) *The Foolish VVisdom of this VWorld*, and the professors thereof Fools, as I have before sufficiently shew'd, (b) where I convinc'd Atheists of Ignorance and Folly, whereunto for the conclusion of this Point, and of this Discourse, I will here add, what the Holy Ghost testifies in the Book of Wisdom, concerning as well the Misery, as the Folly of these kind of Wise Worldlings, and what they shall then say one to another, when they shall see at the Day of Judgment themselves con-

(a) Cor. 1. 20. Rom. 1. 22. Psal 52. & 91.
& 93. Matth. 7. 26. (b) Tom. 5. ch. 23. nro. 19. 20.

demn'd to Eternal Torments, and the Servants of God Rewarded with Everlasting Glory.

33. We Men without Sense, and understanding, esteem'd the Life of these, that is of the Just, to be madness, and their End without Honor, and behold how they are now reckon'd amongst the Children of God, and their Lot is amongst the Saints. Therefore we have err'd from the way of Truth, and the Light of his Justice has not shin'd upon us, neither has the Sun of understanding Risen unto us; we have weary'd our selves in the way of Iniquity, and Perdition, and have walk'd difficult ways, and have not known the way of our Lord. What has our Pride profited us; or what benefit has the Ostentation of our Riches been unto us? All which is now past away like a Shadow, like one that Run's Post, like a Ship under Sail, like a Bird that Fly's, like an Arrow Shot at a Mark, of whose passage there remains no Sign: In like manner we were Born and presently ceas'd to be, and have not left behind us any sign of Virtue, but are consum'd, and spent in our one malignity and wickedness: Thus do's the Holy Ghost describe the Miserable and Lamentable State of the Worldly Wise, and all other Wicked Men, at the Day of Judgment: Which I wish every Man wou'd consider betimes, lest he Repent too late amongst those, who shall make this pittiful complaint without hope or possibility of any remedy.

34. This therefore shall suffice at present, and if in what I have already sayd, my Dear

Reader, thou find any thing that contents thee, I beseech thee give the Praise, and Honor thereof to Almighty God, (a) From whom every Good and Perfect Gift proceeds; and if there be any thing thou dislikest, I am content to own my fault, and beg of thee to bear and pardon it, and to let it pass for an Example of the Weakness and Infirmitie of Mans Wit, which I have prov'd by so many other Examples of the Errors of very Wise and Learned Men, that I cannot presume to warrant my own Actions or Writings from Errors and Oversightes: Only this I assure thee, that I have not Maliciously Err'd in any thing, but throughout this whole Discourse, have had a Charitable desire of thy good; and as I hope, a true Zeal of God's Glory; which all Men ought to make the cheif Scope, and End of their Actions: And if I find that this be grateful to thee, I will for thy farther satisfaction proceed in my undertaking, with such speed, as my Decay'd Health, and other Affairs, shall permit.

(a) *Iac. 1.*

Deo soli Honor & Gloria.

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